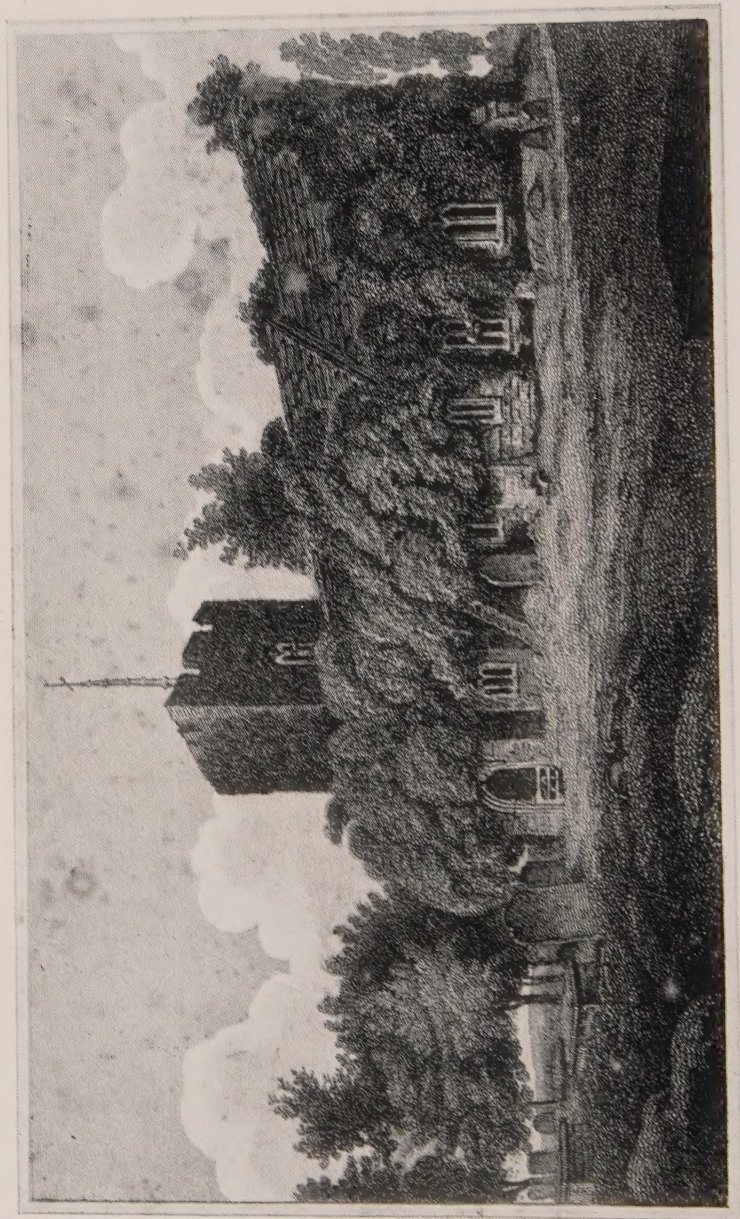


THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF ESSEX.

HAROLD SMITH, D.D.



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CHINGFORD PARISH CHURCH.

From an engraving published by T. Stratford, Holborn Hill, May 31, 1866, "engraved by Hawkins from a drawing by Ellis," and published in Dr. Hughson's "Description of London."

The Ecclesiastical History of Essex

Under the Long Parliament
and Commonwealth

By

HAROLD SMITH, D.D.

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PREFACE.

ONE main object of this work is to do in detail for a single county what has been done for the whole country by Dr. W. A. Shaw in his "*History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*" (1900). A whole county of considerable size has the advantage of affording a sufficiently wide field upon which to generalize, not depending on what may prove to be exceptional cases. On the other hand, it is a field of quite workable dimensions, and it is possible to cover all cases so far as known. Essex has, moreover, some peculiar advantages; its proximity to London makes it a fair specimen of the Home Counties, or of the counties between the Wash and the Solent, which were in the main under the hold of the Parliament from the beginning of the conflict. We have also several lists of signatories to petitions or declarations, and Newcourt's *Repertorium Londiniense* furnishes lists of parochial incumbents till well into the Troubles, and again after the Restoration. Thus, while much of this work is primarily of local interest, it may also be taken as presenting a view which holds good also for the district round London in general. It includes also sections of general interest, e.g., the autobiographies or diaries of two men on different sides—Richard Drake, best known as the editor of Bishop Andrewes' "*Devotions*," and Ralph Josselin. The former, which has never been published, throws great light on the ecclesiastical position of a younger Laudian. The account given by Dr. Anthony Walker of the origin of *Eikon Basiliké* and the adventures of its MS. is also practically unknown. The notices of ordinations, both by bishops and by presbyters during the Troubles, are more detailed than usual. Dr. Shaw truly says that parochial history usually breaks down over the Commonwealth period; this is not due solely to prejudice, but is largely because the period is not understood. The ordinary sources of information, e.g., Bishops' Registers—fail, and there is insufficient knowledge whither to turn in their place.

I give, usually in an abbreviated but sufficient form, the returns of the Parochial Inquisition of 1650, covering with one or two exceptions every parish in the county. In some cases the information so given is extensive. I have also tried to bring out clearly the character and effect of Commonwealth church legislation, especially the appointment of "Registers."

My use of Dr. Shaw's book is manifest throughout. One other book, constantly mentioned, to which my work owes much, is Davids' "*Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*," (1862). I sometimes refer to this for documents or information given there more fully, but more often make corrections or supply omissions. This does not mean at all that I underestimate this valuable book, but simply that I regard it as the standard book for the period in Essex. Hence, on the one hand I constantly refer to it; on the other I attempt to bring it up to date by using new sources of information, correcting errors and supplying deficiencies.

The main period covered is from the opening of the Long Parliament until things settled down after the Act of Uniformity. But much is said on the period preceding this; in fact the reign of Charles I is dealt with fairly completely. At the other end I have given notes on the ministers ejected both in 1660 and 1662; but these notes deal almost entirely with their *previous* history (unless they are known to have conformed). On this I have been able to add a good deal to Calamy and Davids; but not on their *subsequent* history, which lies outside my period.

There remain a few points which might have been included, e.g., under Charles I the troubles of Dr. John Bastwick, of Colchester; under the Long Parliament, the witchcraft trials of 1645; under the Commonwealth, the troubles of the Quakers. But the book is long enough as it is; I have omitted a full list of clergy in each parish.

It is difficult to decide how much general history of the period may be assumed as known, so as to confine oneself to local illustration or detail; and what requires careful exposition. I may have given too much of this last; but my experience is that much of the general history is either not known, or known only from party or prejudiced sources. It is impossible to avoid some amount of bias; but I have constantly allowed my sources to speak for themselves, and have striven rather to record facts than to pass judgment upon them.

My thanks are especially due to Dr. Claude Jenkins, Librarian of Lambeth Palace; to Mr. H. H. Gepp, Diocesan Registrar of Chelmsford; to the Diocesan Registrar of London; and to the Librarians of Sion College, Dr. Williams' Library and the Memorial Hall. Also to the many parochial clergy of the county, who have allowed me to examine their parish registers.

HAROLD SMITH.

Ecclesiastical History of Essex.

I. DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY, CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

(a) CIVIL. The ancient County of Essex was divided into nineteen Hundreds or Half-Hundreds, besides two districts of some size—the Borough of Colchester and the Liberty of Havering. Most of these divisions are now practically obsolete, though the Petty Sessional Divisions are largely based upon them—more than Poor Law Unions or Rural Districts are. But their names recur constantly in records. Thus it seems desirable to give the situation of each of these historical divisions with its original centre, if ascertainable and not clearly shown by its name; and its chief places before the comparatively recent expansion of London on the one hand and watering-places on the other.

BECONTREE, now mainly urban or suburban, lies in the south-west of the county from Walthamstow to Dagenham, both inclusive. From this was taken the Liberty of Havering, which for some purposes remained united with it. Its original centre may have been Becontree Heath, though this was much nearer its eastern end even when Havering was included. Its chief places were BARKING and STRATFORD, and, later, ILFORD, its geographical centre. The LIBERTY OF HAVERING-ATTE-BOWER, a royal manor with privileges bestowed by a charter of Edward IV., lay east of Becontree, extending from Havering and Noak Hill to the Thames south of Hornchurch. Chief place, ROMFORD.

CHAFFORD runs from South Weald to the Thames. Its original centre seems to have been Chafford Heath in Upminster, but its most important places were at the extremities: BRENTWOOD, a chapelry of South Weald, and GRAYS THURROCK.

BARSTABLE, one of the largest Hundreds in the county, lies along the Thames from East Thurrock to South Benfleet, running inland to Shenfield and Doddington. Its original centre is marked by Barstable Hall in Laindon, but it had no town except BILLERICAY, a hamlet of Great Burstead. But Brentwood, lying just on its border, was often a common centre for Chafford and Barstable.

ROCHFORD has for the most part clear geographical boundaries; it occupies the peninsula between the estuaries of the Thames and the Crouch. Chief places, ROCHFORD, RAYLEIGH and LEIGH. (Southend is barely 150 years old.)

DENGIE has also clearly marked boundaries, occupying the peninsula between the Crouch and the Blackwater estuary with the lower Chelmer. The borough of MALDON lies at one corner ; SOUTHMINSTER and BURNHAM are at the other end.

CHELMSFORD may be said to occupy roughly the basin of the middle Chelmer from the Walthams and Leighs downwards. Its obvious centre is CHELMSFORD ; it includes also INGATESTONE.

ONGAR may similarly be described as the basin of the middle Roding, from Abbess Roding and Fyfield to Chigwell. Chief place, CHIPPING ONGAR.

WALTHAM HALF-HUNDRED takes the Essex side of the Lea basin from Chingford to Nazing. Chief places, WALTHAM ABBEY and EPPING.

HARLOW takes the Essex side of the basin of the Stort, below Bishop's Stortford, Chief places, HARLOW and HATFIELD BROAD OAK.

DUNMOW may be described as the basins of the Upper Roding and Upper Chelmer (with the upper Cann). Chief towns, DUNMOW and THAXTED.

CLAVERING, a very small Half-Hundred, occupies the basin of the Upper Stort.

UTTLESFORD cuts off Clavering from the rest of the county. It may be roughly described as the basin of the upper Cam, but runs down to the Stort at Stansted. Uttlesford itself is in the parish of Wendon. The chief places are SAFFRON WALDEN and NEWPORT.

FRESHWELL takes the basin of the Upper Pant, with some adjacent parishes on the Cambridgeshire border. GREAT BARDFIELD is its largest place.

HINCKFORD is the largest Hundred in the county, running along the Suffolk border from Haverhill to Bures, and coming as far south as Felsted. Its chief places are BRAINTREE, BOCKING HALSTEAD and the HEDINGHAMS. "Hinckford" was probably originally "Heningford," connecting the two Heninghams or Hedinghams. "Heningham" is the more usual spelling in old times.

LEXDEN is another large Hundred. Lexden itself being within the borough of Colchester, it is clear that this Hundred once included the borough, or at least all its outlying parts. It surrounds it on all sides except the east and north-east. Chief places, COGGESHALL, EARLS COLNE, DEDHAM. It stretches from the Stour across the Colne to the Blackwater and the Roman River.

WITHAM may be roughly described as the district between the

lower Chelmer and lower Blackwater. It includes WITHAM and KELVEDON.

North of the Blackwater estuary are two small Half-Hundreds : THURSTABLE includes Heybridge and the Tolleshunts.

WINSTREE includes the Layers and Mersea Island.

TENDRING comprises the whole peninsula from the mouth of the Colne to the estuary of the Stour. Its original centre was TENDRING, but its chief place is HARWICH, at its farthest corner. It includes also Brightlingsea and Manningtree. Clacton-on-Sea is quite modern.

The BOROUGH OF COLCHESTER takes in the outlying parishes of Lexden, Mile End or Myland, Greenstead and Berechurch.

Thus a large number of Hundreds have clearly marked natural boundaries, occupying, e.g., peninsulas or river-basins. But this does not hold good of most of the large Hundreds, nor of all the rest. It is worth notice that while in some cases the original centre is still the obvious centre, or at least a place of importance, in other cases these places had lost their importance and new places grown up even in mediæval times ; e.g. Brentwood, Billericay, Harwich.

Several Hundreds were usually grouped together with a common centre. *Norden gives them as follows, with " how they are limited to repair, for the more ease of the country, to certain places, for the more speedy despatch of ordinary causes."

- I. Becontree, Chafford and Barstable, at Brentwood.
- II. Ongar, Harlow, and Waltham, at Waltham.
- III. Dunmow, Uttlesford, Freshwell, Clavering, at Dunmow, Walden, and sometime at Thaxted.
- IV. Hinckford, at Braintree or Castle Hedingham.
- V. Tendring, Lexden, Winstree, Thurstable, Witham, at Colchester, sometime at Maldon.
- VI. Chelmsford, Rochford and Dengie, at Chelmsford.

These divisions were recognised by the Long Parliament when Committees were appointed, July 11, 1642.† Committees are named for each of these six divisions, Barstable, Ongar, Dunmow, Chelmsford, Tendring, and Hinckford ; the High Sheriff, Robert Smith of Upton, being on all of them. It is not, however, clear that they always met at the places named by Norden ; the Committee for Becontree, Havering, Chafford and Barstable, whose

* Description of Essex, 1594.

† Lords' Journals, v. 203.

minute-book* is preserved, met usually at Romford. Probably also Ongar was the natural centre for the Ongar, Harlow, Waltham division. The report of the Parochial Inquisition of September, 1650, records meetings at Romford, Chelmsford, Ongar, Dunmow, Braintree, Colchester; the Hundreds represented at each centre are as Norden gives them, except that Witham went with Hinckford and came to Braintree.

(On the Hundreds and their original meeting places see *E.A.S. Trans.*, XVI, 182; XVIII, 172; also Victoria C.H. I415.)

(b) ECCLESIASTICAL. Till Bishop Blomfield's times the whole of Essex formed part of the diocese of London, originally co-extensive with the whole kingdom of the East Saxons, which included Essex, Middlesex and "part of Hertfordshire." The old diocesan boundary shows that in the last county the western boundary of the kingdom of Essex ran roughly along the "Old North Road" ("Ermine Street"), thus including Cheshunt, Hoddesdon, Ware, Buntingford and Royston, but not Barnet or Hertford. The rest of Hertfordshire originally belonged, together with Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, to Wessex, being taken by Mercia only in the later days of the Heptarchy. Thus the union of these two districts into one county was really a union of East and West Saxons.

This Wessex-Mercian district had belonged to the diocese of Dorchester (on Thames); in Norman times the see was transferred to Lincoln. At the Reformation a number of parishes which had been under the direct jurisdiction of the Abbey of St. Albans were formed into a new archdeaconry attached to London diocese. So that from 1540 to about 1840 Hertfordshire was ecclesiastically in three sections: (1) the bulk of the county was still in the diocese of Lincoln; (2) some twenty-five parishes partly together, partly scattered, besides several in Buckinghamshire, formed the Archdeaconry of St. Albans in the diocese of London; these included Barnet, St. Albans, Watford, Rickmansworth; (3) some thirty parishes or chapelries in the east of the county (the Deanery of Braughing) formed part of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex in the same diocese.

The diocese of London was from Norman times divided into four Archdeaconries, that of St. Albans being a later addition. (1) LONDON, including the City of London and the parishes of Clerkenwell, Islington and Shoreditch; (2) MIDDLESEX, including (a) all the rest of Middlesex, (b) the deanery of Braughing in Hertfordshire, (c) three deaneries in Essex—Harlow, Dunmow,

* B. M. Add. 37491.

Hedingham ; (3) ESSEX, comprising seven deaneries in the southern part of the county. (It is a great pity that this historical name has been recently abandoned in order to pay compliments to West Ham and Southend). (4) COLCHESTER, divided into two parts : (a) four deaneries in the north-east round Colchester ; (b) two deaneries in the north-west round Saffron Walden ; these parts were separated by the Archdeaconry of Middlesex.

The minor ecclesiastical divisions largely corresponded with the civil, i.e., deaneries coincided with hundreds. There were a few variations, e.g., Wimbish was in Uttlesford Hundred but in Dunmow deanery ; Loughton in Ongar Hundred but Barking deanery ; Felsted in Hinckford Hundred, Dunmow deanery. Also there were cases of a hamlet of a parish being in a different hundred from the main part ; this may spring from absorption of a parish once independent. But the chief difference was that the above twenty-one civil divisions were reduced to sixteen deaneries, a small hundred or other division being added to another to form a deanery. Thus the deaneries of Barstable, Chafford, Chelmsford, Colchester, Dengie, Dunmow, Harlow, Ongar, Rochford and Tendring answered to the civil divisions of the same name, and Hedingham deanery coincided with Hinckford Hundred. But Lexden deanery took in Winstree as well as Lexden ; Witham deanery took in Thurstable with Witham ; Barking deanery comprised Becontree, Havering and Waltham. In the north-west the three Hundreds of Clavering, Uttlesford and Freshwell made up the two deaneries of Newport and Sampford ; this is explained by an early division of Uttlesford into East and West, Sampford deanery comprising Freshwell and East Uttlesford, Newport taking Clavering and West Uttlesford.

It must, however, be remembered that there were till recently many " peculiar jurisdictions." Of some parishes the Archbishop of Canterbury was not only Patron but " Ordinary " ; their Rectors were collated by him ; the clergy did not attend the visitation of the Bishop of London, but that of the Archbishop or his representative—in Essex, the Dean of Bocking. There were a number of such parishes in London, including St. Mary-le-Bow ; in Essex they comprised Bocking, Stisted, Latchingdon, Southchurch, also the hamlet of Middleton or Milton in Prittlewell, the site of much of Southend. Another group had the Dean and Chapter of St. Pauls' as Ordinaries :—Barling Navestock, Tillingham, Belchamp St. Paul, Wickham St. Paul, and before the Reformation, also the three Soken parishes. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster were Ordinaries of St. Mary, Maldon ; New College, Oxford, of

Writtle (with Roxwell) and Hornchurch (with Romford and Havering); these formed part of the original endowment of the College, having previously belonged to Alien Priories.

In some rubrics of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER we find mention of the "Ordinary"; the present-day interpretation is "the Bishop." But there was good reason for the use of the vaguer term; it meant "the judge with ordinary jurisdiction," and often meant not the Bishop, but the Archdeacon. And these various anomalies made it impossible to say in each case either "the Bishop" or "the Archdeacon"; some parishes were not under the Archdeacon at all, but under the direct jurisdiction of the Bishop; in others the Archbishop or (e.g.) the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's would replace the Bishop of the diocese. The vague word "Ordinary" would mean the proper person in each case.

It may be noticed that the coincidence between civil and ecclesiastical divisions was closer in Essex than in the rest of the diocese. Middlesex was not divided into deaneries; and the deanery of Braughing took in parishes from several Hertfordshire Hundreds besides that of Braughing.

II. SIXTEENTH CENTURY MOVEMENTS.

It is noticeable that the centre of the county as regards new religious movements was always Colchester (with Dedham). The London end, or, indeed, the whole western side of the county, seems to lie apart. This appears (1) in the confluence of Lollardism and Lutheranism about 1528, recorded by Strype; the centres of these "heretics" are Colchester and Steeple Bumpstead. (2) In the persecution under Mary, apart from the first batch of victims, by far the larger number came from the Colchester district. (3) In the Puritan movement under Elizabeth, while there were a few men round e.g. Rochford, Maldon and Braintree, the great bulk lay round Colchester and Dedham. The "State of the Clargie," 1603-4, was clearly drawn up in that neighbourhood.

This distinction is not so marked later, but we find in the "Essex Watchmen's Watchword," 1649, very few signatures from the west side of the county, and, with the exception of Browne of Nazing, we read of few persecutions of Nonconformists except in the north and north-east of the county. Similarly the Quakers flourished more in that part, extending, however, into the centre.

The explanation probably lies in the fact that that part was much more manufacturing and less purely agricultural. The

influence of the sea will account for the more isolated cases of Maldon and the Rochford Hundred. Still one would have expected more from the London corner.

A few words may be said on each of these earlier movements. (1) In 1528 a number of Lollards or Lutherans were discovered in Essex. (The most accessible source is Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*.* Foxe hardly gives more than the names; perhaps because the leaders were forced to inform on the others, and all those convicted abjured. The ultimate source is Tunstall's Register).

There were a number connected with Steeple Bumpstead, including the curate, Richard Fox, and the churchwardens, but the great bulk came from Colchester or its immediate neighbourhood, with a few from Braintree or Witham. The accounts are valuable as showing the circulation of portions of Wyclif's Bible and later of Tyndale's New Testament.

One name may possibly be of more than local interest. The first English Bible the use of which had any legal sanction, was that called "Matthew's" in 1537. It was a composite work, consisting of Tyndale's New Testament and Pentateuch; Joshua-Chronicles from Tyndale's MS.; and the rest of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha from Coverdale's Bible. The editor was John Rogers, afterwards the first victim of the Marian persecution; but it professed to be by "Thomas Matthew." It is disputed whether this was merely a fictitious name, perhaps an enlargement of "T.M." a sort of reversal of "W.T." the initials of William Tyndale; or whether there was some real Thomas Matthew who had some hand in it. The above proceedings of Bishop Tunstall show that nearly ten years earlier there was a Thomas Matthew living at Colchester, a man of some substance, who was convicted of "heresy as it was then called, that is the Gospel." (Strype).

Robert Necton who bought and sold numbers of English New Testaments, confessed that he had twice or thrice been in the house of Thomas Matthew of Colchester and had read divers times in the New Testament in English, before the said Thomas Matthew, his wife, William Dykes, and other servants there.

On March 5, 1527-8, Thomas Matthew appeared before the Bishop, made answer to the articles, abjured, received correction, and was then absolved. He was enjoined that every week during the five weeks of the present Lent he should distribute in alms

* Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 74-f.; Pt. II., p. 35-f.

six shillings and eight pence, viz., sixteen-pence to the prisoners in the castle of the town of Colchester ; eight-pence to other prisoners in the prison of the same town ; and the remainder of the money to the poor of the town, in bread and herrings. He was to report himself the week after Low Sunday and then receive the remainder of the punishment. His step-daughter, Marion Matthew, alias Westden, was included in the confession of John Pykas. " He had heard her speak of the Epistles and Gospels (and had them well by heart) in her own house, divers and many times, and had heard her say to him divers times within these last three years in her house, that men should not go on pilgrimages, for they were nought, and should not be used ; and she should say to him that she had set up as few candles to images as any woman had."

We know nothing more of this " Thomas Matthew." There is nothing to forbid his having subsequently gone abroad and met Rogers there ; if he was either abroad or dead when " Matthew's Bible " appeared, the use of his name would be explained. But this is mere conjecture.

(2) Essex supplied a very large proportion of the victims of the Marian persecution. Laymen here, especially magistrates, seem to have taken an unusually large part in the arrests. This may have been due to the fact that some of the most prominent had compromised themselves by support of Lady Jane Grey ; they were now anxious to prove themselves good subjects and good Catholics.

The Essex cases recorded by Foxe are collected by Davids. The accounts of special interest include those of William Hunter of Brentwood, Thomas Hawkes of Coggeshall (?), Thomas Wats of Billericay, William Tyms of Hockley, Ralph Allerton of Great Bentley. There were several from the part towards London, but the great majority came from Colchester and its neighbourhood, with some from Bocking and Coggeshall. The first burnings were distributed among various towns, but latterly all were burnt at Colchester or Smithfield or Stratford. (Foxe says " Stratford le Bow," i.e., Bow, but there is a tradition that the place was Stratford Green.)

Foxe as a historian has suffered from uncritical praise followed by hypercritical blame. He belongs to very much the same class as Walker (" Sufferings of the Clergy "). Both are most painstaking and diligent ; both are thorough-going partisans, too ready to believe anything to the discredit of the enemy ; both have preserved valuable information which we should otherwise have

lost ; both have sometimes to depend on information of uncertain value. It is unfair to judge old historians by the critical standard of the present day ; it is still more unfair to condemn them altogether for occasional mistakes, from which present day historians are not always free.

(3) Much light has been thrown on the Puritan movement under Elizabeth, especially so far as Essex is concerned, by two recent publications : Peel, "The Seconde Parte of a Register," and Usher, "The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth as illustrated by the Minute Book of the Dedham Classis, 1582-1589."

Dr. Peel's work is a Calendar of Manuscripts intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, now in Dr. Williams' Library, Gordon Square, London. These form part of a collection of MSS. made by Roger Morice ; they were used by Strype, Neal and Brook, and the parts relating to Essex are given fairly completely by Davids. But this is the first full account ; many of the documents are given in full or nearly so.

The chief pieces relating to Essex are :—

No. 143 (Vol. I., p. 225). Petition to the Lords of the Council from twenty-seven ministers of Essex.* It forms one of several such petitions ; the others are from the Ministers of Norfolk, Gentlemen of Norfolk, Pastors and Preachers in Lincolnshire, Ministers of Oxfordshire.

No. 157 (p. 245). The Council's letter about John Huckle, and the Bishop's Reply. †

No. 172 (p. 274). William Negus of Leigh. Account of his suspension for not wearing the surplice. The petition of his parishioners to him "not to forsake us for such a trifle." ‡

No. 189 (Vol. II., p. 28). The Bishop of London's action against Thomas Carew, presented to Hatfield Peverel by Edmond Allen.

No. 195 (p. 39). Supplication of Thomas Gardiner, imprisoned minister of Maldon. §

No. 205 (p. 88). A Survey of the Ministry. Returns are given—but made on very different plans—from Cornwall, Lincolnshire, Rutlandshire, London, Surrey, Norfolk, Essex and Warwickshire. In some counties some account is given of every parish ;

* Davids, p. 77.

† Davids, p. 111.

‡ See Davids, p. 116.

§ Davids, p. 125.

in others only "black sheep," unpreaching, non-resident and scandalous clergy are recorded ; this is the case with Essex. This list professes to omit the three Hundreds of Becontree, Waltham and Harlow ; but in fact, Becontree is fully represented. This list is published by Davids,* but with a few omissions. A few only of corrections (from Peel) can be given here. Goodwin is C. of Lavies de Haie, i.e., Laver de la Haye ; Disborow is of Fingringhoe, not Feering ; Palmer of Widford "also usually marrieth unknown persons without any banns ;" Shaw is parson of Mount, i.e., Theydon Mount.

This list includes (1) Unpreaching Ministers, about 162 in number, including curates. Most are merely named, but charges, in some cases serious, are brought against the character of some, while the former occupation of others is given. The leading spirits in the Puritan movement at the period were University men, who despised the half educated men who had been ordained early in the reign, or even previously, or had since got ordination and appointments somehow. They note one man as "sometime a tailor," another "sometime a weaver," or "a pedlar" ; also that a man was "sometime a friar," "sometime a popish priest."

(2) Double beneficed men, some fifty-eight, but including some already mentioned.

(3) Single beneficed men not resident upon their charges ; omitted by Davids, and so given here.)

Dr. Atkinson, the pishion pa. of Stanford Rivers, lieth at London absent from his charge.

Mr. Absolon of Dengie.

The pa. of Little Hallingbury.

The V. of Burnham.

Mr. Bailie, V. of Thurrington.

Mr. Smith of Little Birch.

Mr. Dr. Hound of West Tilburie.

Mr. Driwood, par. of Manningtree. Mr. Graunte of South Bemfleet.

(4) Non-resident. Three only named.

(5) Preachers of scandalous life in Essex (omitted by Davids). Details are given in each case, fourteen in all.

Mr. Ampleforth, v. of Much Baddow.

Mr. Goldring, pa. of Laingdon Hills.

Mr. Ocklei, p. of Much Burstead.

Mr. Durdent, v. of Stebbing.

Mr. Durden, pa. of Mashbury.

Mr. Cuckson, v. of Lindsell.

Mr. Wilkinson, v. of Stansted Mountfitchet.

* P. 88, Appendix to Ch. IV.

Mr. Fountaine of Much Bracksted.
 Mr. Mason, pa. of Rawrey.
 Mr. Glascock, pa. of Willingale Doe.
 Mr. Glibberie, v. of Halstead.
 Mr. Buffin of Bulmer.
 Mr. Warener, v. of West Mersey.
 Mr. Ellis, pa. of Bowers (Gifford).

(6) Sufficient, painful and careful preachers and ministers in Essex who have been vexed and molested for refusing subscription or not wearing the surplice, omitting the cross in Baptism and such like—thirty-eight in all. Sixteen of them are of Colchester, Lexden and Hinckford, six in Chelmsford Hundred, four in Rochford; none in west or south-west of county.

No. 212 (p. 187). Complaint of Maldon to the Council.

No. 213 (p. 188). Request of inhabitants of Maldon with their neighbours the Hundreds of Dengie, Rochford, Barstable, Thursstable and Witham, to the Members of Parliament for Maldon, 1586.*

No. 214 (p. 189). Supplication of Inhabitants of Hundred of Rochford to the Council; ninety-eight signatures.†

No. 215 (p. 190). Supplication of Hundreds of Hinckford, Freshwell, Uttlesford, Clavering‡ to Parliament.

No. 217 (p. 191). Supplication of Dunmow to Lord Rich—236 signatures, the first being “Frauncis Barrington, Esq.”§

No. 218 (p. 193). Case of Mr. Farrar of Langham.¶

No. 243 (p. 258). Supplication of Ministers suspended in Essex.||

No. 254 (p. 260). Names of ministers suspended in Essex by the Bishop of London at his last Visitation and since for the surplice.

Dr. Usher, besides printing the Minute Book of the Dedham Classis, gives also the account of the Presbyterian movement from Bancroft’s “Dangerous Positions.” There were certainly two Puritan Classes—answering fairly nearly to Scotch Presbyteries—in Essex. The largest was round Dedham; it included

* Davids, p. 82.

† Davids, p. 83.

‡ Davids, p. 83.

§ Davids, p. 82.

¶ Davids, p. 110.

|| Davids, p. 83.

members from both Suffolk and Essex. The Essex members were Dr. Edmund Chapman, Lecturer of Dedham; Thomas Farrar, Langham; Anthony Gale, Dedham (schoolmaster); Robert Lewis, Markshall and St. Peter, Colchester; Thomas Lowe, St. Leonard, Colchester (he soon withdrew); William Negus, who moved from Ipswich to Leigh; Lawrence Newman, Coggeshall; Richard Parker, Dedham; William Taye, Peldon and Laver-de-la-Haye; and perhaps Thomas Tye. Another Classis had its centre at Braintree. A letter from it, June 5, 1587, is signed by Richard Rogers, Lecturer at Wethersfield; Ezekiel Culverwell, Felsted; Roger Carr, Rayne; John Hockill, Aythorp Roding, and Giles Whiting, Panfield. But there were other ministers further south who may have belonged to this Classis. In 1584 Gifford of Maldon and Wright of Rochford were elected to a synod at London; Gifford is mentioned by Bancroft, on the authority of Parker of Dedham, as a member of the Braintree Classis.

Some of the most interesting papers are the suggestions that Dr. Withers, Archdeacon of Colchester, should free the godly ministers from his court and not exact an oath of the churchwardens or sidesmen; that he should not suffer any bare readers or induct any insufficient minister, and should let his Visitation be converted into a Synod with himself as Moderator.*

Orders agreed upon for the parish of Dedham (p. 99) include (I) For the right use of the Lord's Day, to be spent in holy exercises, publicly and at home, in reading and examining of their servants; all travelling to fairs, markets, marriage dinners, and dinners abroad or in the town left off (4) That the Lord's Supper be celebrated every first Sunday of every month.

(5) That married persons or householders resort to the church at six of the clock in the morning upon Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday before the Communion, to be examined according to the divisions, and the youth the Saturday in the afternoon. . . . (II) That all young children of the town be taught to read English, and that the moiety of that is given at the Communion be employed for the teaching of such poor men's children as shall be judged unable to bear it themselves, and a convenient place to be appointed for the teacher of them.

From these sources a "White List" of Puritans can be made to balance their "Black List." But these men were not all in

* Pp. 85, 87-89.

their respective parishes at the same time, and some cannot be located.

Allison, Richard.	Lowe, Thomas, St. Leonard, Colchester.
Barker, Edmund, Prittlewell.	Maiburne, Thomas, Much Wakering.
Beomont, Stephen, Easthorpe.	Monke, Robert, Wakes Colne.
Bishop, John.	Morley, Ezekias, Ridgewell.
Blackwell, Richard	Morris, Thomas, Layer Marney.
Baunde, John, Gt. Horkesley.	Morse, Thomas, Boxted and Foxearth.
Carr, Roger, Rayne.	Negus, William, Leigh.
Carew, Thomas, Hatfield Peverel.	Newman, Lawrence, Coggeshall.
Chapman, Edmund, Dedham (Lec.)	Northey, George, Colchester (Lec.).
Chaplein, Thomas, Hempsted.	Paine, John, Tollesbury.
Chadwick, William Danbury (? C).	Parker, Richard, Dedham.
Cook, William, St. Giles, Colchester.	Pigge, Oliver (Colchester and Abberton).
Colpotts, Nicholas, Dunton.	Pigot, Augustine, Tilty.
Cornwell Marks Tey.	Reddrich, Thomas, Hutton.
Cottesford, Samuel.	Rogers, Richard, Wethersfield (Lec.).
Culverwell, Ezekiel, Felsted and Gt. Stambridge.	Rusticus, Camillus, Vange.
Dent, Arthur, S. Shoebury.	Seridge, William, E. Hanningfield.
Duke, William, Coggeshall.	Serle, Robert, Lexden.
Edmund, Robert, E. Mersea.	Stoughton (Stocton), Thomas, Coggeshall.
Farrar, Thomas, Langham.	Teye, William, Peldon.
Forth, Richard, Frinton and Gt. Holland (?).	Tuke, George.
Gale, Arthur, Dedham (S.m.).	Tunstall, William, Much Totham.
Gardiner, John, Heybridge.	Tye, Robert.
Gifford, George, Maldon.	Upcher, Thomas, St. Leonard, Colchester.
Hawdon, Ralph, "Fryan."	Waltham, John.
Howell, Thomas, Paglesham.	Ward, John, Writtle (? Lec.).
Huckle, John, Aythorp Roding.	Whiting, Giles, Panfield.
Josselin, Jeffrey, Shellow Bowells (Good Easter).	Wiersdale, Mark, Maldon.
Knevett, Thomas, Myland.	Wilton, John, Aldham.
Knight Hempstead.	Wright, Robert, Rochford.
Larkin, Thomas, Little Waltham.	
Lewis, Robert, Markshall and St. Peters, Colchester.	

One would like to know how this movement was really regarded by the laity in general. It had strong support from a number of influential people, Lord Rich in particular. Many gentry kept Puritan chaplains in their houses; their services were obviously very little under outside control. This came in useful not only for Puritans before the Troubles, but for Royalist clergy under the Commonwealth, and for some Nonconformists afterwards. Sir Edmund Lewknor of Denham Hall, Suffolk, M.P. for Maldon, was a strong supporter of the Puritans; he was sent to the Tower in

1587 for supporting their proposals. His chaplain rather later was Richard Blackerby, afterwards one of the senior Puritan ministers in Essex, holding no cure but preaching constantly.

But it must not be taken that all those signing petitions in behalf of imprisoned or suspended ministers were keen on the presbyterian discipline ; or even had very strong objection to the surplice or the like. They did not like to see capable and faithful ministers and good preachers suspended or imprisoned while incompetent or disreputable men were let alone ; but they may well have thought that both parties were fighting about trifles, and that some submission to the bishop's requirements would be as well. Some such position was taken by the inhabitants of Leigh in their letter to William Negus.*

" It is our great grief that your mouth is shut up, and that we are deprived of our spiritual comfort, for we know that in time if it continue it will be our ruin. We do also understand that your liberty may be redeemed only by wearing the surplice at some times and that you shall not be urged any further. It is a thing which we wish with all our hearts . . . were removed. But yet we take it not to be a matter of such weight as that to the hazard of our souls and loss of our spiritual comfort, the not wearing of it should deprive us of your ministry ; for then we look to have such an one thrust upon us that we shall be constrained to bear with greater things than the surplice and want our godly instruction. We wish rather to bear with that and to have your teaching, than to bear not only that, but much more, and to be without teaching. We do therefore intreat you, as you tender our souls, and as you regard the account which you must make unto God for them, not for forsake us for such a trifle. . . . Your hungry sheep." [28 signatures].

Much the same point of view appears some fifty years later in a poem by Francis Quarles.† a native of Romford. Without implying approval of the action of the bishops, he clearly thought that the ministers should rather yield the ceremonial points in dispute than incur suspension or deprivation, to the injury of their flocks.

ON THOSE WHO DESERVE IT.

O when our Clergy at the dreadful Day
 Shall make their audit ; when the Judge shall say
 " Give your account : what, have My lambs been fed ?
 Say, do they all stand sound ? is there none dead
 By your defaults ? Come, shepherds, bring them forth
 That I may crown your labours in their worth."
 O what an answer will be given by some :
 " We have been silenced ; canons struck us dumb ;

* Peel, I., 274.

† Divine Fancies, I. 33, 1630.

The Great Ones would not let us feed Thy flock
 Unless we played the fool and wore a frock;
 We were forbid unless we'd yield to sign
 And cross their brows, they say a mark of Thine.
 To say the truth, Great Judge, they were not fed;
 Lord, here they be; but, Lord, they be all dead."
 Ah, cruel shepherds! could your conscience serve
 Not to be fools and yet to let them starve?
 What if your fiery spirits had been bound
 To antick habits, or your heads been crowned
 With peacocks' plumes; had ye been forced to feed
 Your Saviour's dear-bought flock in a fool's weed?
 He that was scorned, reviled, endured the curse
 Of a base death on your behalf; nay, worse,
 Swallowed the cup of wrath charged up to th' brim;
 Durst ye not stoop to play the fools for Him?

This point of view must always be borne in mind in judging of conformists—whether in 1644 or in 1662. They must not be classed generally as "time-servers" or as "Vicars of Bray." Many with a strong sense of vocation no doubt felt that submission to new forms of church government or of worship was preferable to being silenced. They sacrificed their own preferences, however strong, in order to be able to continue in the work of the ministry.

III. THE PURITAN LIST, 1604.

The character of the Essex clergy from a Puritan point of view at the accession of James I. is shown in a pamphlet entitled "A View of the State of the Clargie in the County of Essex. The substance whereof is readie to be proved at the Kinges Majesties pleasure; wherein though many charges are set down to be upon report, yet the same are to be proved by witnesses of good credit."

This is described in the British Museum Catalogue (press mark 4705 d. 22) as printed probably about 1894 from a MS. of probably 1609-10. It was presented to the Museum Jan. 1, 1895. It is quoted in the Victoria County History of Essex, where the date 1609-10 is accepted.

But its source must be a MS. of the Duke of Manchester's (No. 128, Hist. MSS. Commission Report 8, App. Pt. 2, p. 27). It is there said to be dated 1602, but the editor thinks it is probably a little later. This is correct; internal evidence dates it almost conclusively in the early part of 1604—possibly March (or April) of that year. (At all events, 1609-10 is impossibly late.) It thus belongs to Puritan activities at the time of the Millenary Petition, the Hampton Court Conference, and Bancroft's repressive measures.

The internal evidence of date may be thus stated:—

(a) TERMINUS A QUO :

"Cressing, Mr. Redrich."	Instituted 22 June, 1603.
"Harlow, Mr. Frauncis."	„ 15 July, 1603.
"Notley Alba, Mr. Bickerstaffe."	„ 22 Aug., 1603.

(b) TERMINUS AD QUEM :

- "Ashledon (=Asheldham), Mr. Gawdinge, senr." Instituted 1590; his successor, Zach. Pasfode or Pasfield, was instituted 17 Nov., 1604, on Gawden's death.
- "Crishall, Mr. Lowfkin." Instituted 1580; successor, Will. Scott, instituted 20 June, 1604, on Lufkin's death.
- "Pebmarsh, Mr. Clopham." Instituted 1584; successor instituted 14 Nov., 1604.
- "Tolleshunt Darcy, Mr. Pasfield." Instituted 1590; successor instituted 2 Dec., 1604, on Pasfield's resignation. (Gone to Chelmsford.)
- "Werleigh, Mr. Wynyngton." Instituted to Weeley, 1598; successor instituted 1 Nov., 1604.

(c) Among the double-beneficed is Dr. Roger Dodd, Archdeacon of Shrewsbury and Vicar of Epping and of Great Parndon. He was instituted to Parndon June 7, 1603; his successor, Valentine Carey, was instituted September 9, 1604.

(d) The following cases seem to date the work precisely :

- "Bulmer, Mr. Ledsam." His successor was instituted March 3, 1603-4.
- "Chelmsford, Mr. Rowley." He was buried at St. Mary's, Cambridge, April 9, 1604; his successor (Pasfield), at Chelmsford, was instituted May 23.
- "Beaumont, Mr. Daniel, a young man newly come." Newcourt dates his institution Feb. 15, 1603-4.

I have noted a number of entries which throw the date back not later than 1605 or 1606 (e.g. Clacton Parva, Danbury, Hatfield Peverel.) But the above cases seem conclusive for fixing the date 1603-4, though a few difficulties remain.

In practically all cases the value of the living is given.

It is interesting in this respect to compare with the valuation in 1650—a much more authoritative one, but usually with "conservative" estimates.

Unlike the "Black List" of 1585 it may rather be called a "White List," though both include men of various shades of grey. It concludes, however, with a long list of objectionable or disreputable ministers, whom the compilers are prepared to name, though they do not so far give either name or parish.

The first list is :—

"Diligent and Sufficient Preachers" : 94.

"Preachers" : 21.

"Preachers, some insufficient, some negligent" : 48.

"Ministers non-resident, double-beneficed, or no preachers" : These include about 48 double-beneficed, and about 24 "dumb," five or six of whom have been already mentioned. The gross total is 75.

This is followed by five cases of united benefices.

The Black List numbers 106. The charges vary greatly—ignorance, fondness for sport, negligence, besides some worse cases. (For specimens, see the Victoria History.) Lastly come six livings vacant or only recently filled.

The List was apparently drawn up near Colchester, and the first men are all from Tendring, followed by a group from Lexden ; and there is a special complaint that the Bishop will not institute to Dedham.

There is a very marked increase since 1585 in the number of preachers of one kind or another.

Examples may be given from the Hundreds of Becontree and Ongar ; but it must be understood that only a few of the names given come consecutively.

Diligent and sufficient Preachers :

Navestock	66.13.4	Mr. Wode,	Incumbent there.
Stapleford Tawney	80	Mr. Nicholson,	" "
Theydon Boys	13.6.8	Mr. Haughton,	" "
Theydon Mount	30 (<i>sic</i>)	Mr. Jubye,	" "
High Lafer	80	Mr. King,	" "
Weld Basset	50	Mr. Lynch, Vicar.	
Morton	50	Mr. Goodwyn, Parson.	
Norton Mandeville	26	Mr. Joyner, Incumbent there.	
Wanstead	70	Mr. Lawrence,	" "

Preachers :

Lavar Parva	80	Mr. Oliver, Incumbent there.
(Chelmsford	100	Mr. Rowley, Vicar.)

Preachers, some insufficient, some negligent.

Havering		Mr. —kins (Atkins), Incumbent there.
Lowe Leighton	30	Mr. Godfrey, Incumbent there.
Walthamstow	100 marks	Mr. Reynolds, " "
Westham	40 <i>l</i>	Mr. Jennings, " "
Stondon	60	Mr. Nokes " "
Roodinge Abbots	60	Mr. Page, " "
Roodinge Beauchamp	40	Mr. Hodgkins, Incumbent there.
Bobbingworth	60	Mr. Glascock, " "

Non-resident double-beneficed, or no preachers :

Bradwell juxta Mare	400	Doctor Taber, parson; a sufficient yet
Ongar (High)	140	sildome preacher, and parson of Ongar.
Lamburn	60	} Mr. Rainolds holdeth both these benefices.
Stapleford Abbots	50	
Stanford Rivers	100	Mr. Monkaster (Muncaster), schoolmr. of
		Powles, holdeth this benefice, an un-
		profitable preacher and non-resident.
Hornchurch	}	Dr. Rives, a sufficient preacher and non-
Romford		resident. Preaches at Ipswich, where it
		is reported he hath one hundred marks
		per annum.
Woodford	66.13.4	Mr. Wrighte, dumbe minister, non-resident.
Keldon	50	Mr. Lewis, a dumbe minister.

United Benefices.

Chipping Ongar	18	} Mr. Ince, a sufficient and diligent preacher ;
Greensted	26	
		he hath these two benefices together, as
		they have been united heretofore a long
		tyme.

Thus the only parishes left for the Black List are Barking, Dagenham, Little Ilford, East Ham, Chigwell, Fyfield, Magdalen Laver, Loughton, Shelley, Theydon Garnon.

The estimated values of most of these livings in 1604 may be compared with that given in 1650. As the latter often seems a conservative estimate, it is clear the value had generally gone up.

	1604.	1650.
Leyton	30 ^l	20 ^l
Wanstead	70 ^l	72 ^l
Walthamstow	100 marks	40 ^l
West Ham	40 ^l	60 ^l
Woodford	66.13.4	79 ^l
Bobbingworth	60 ^l	81 ^l
Greenstead	26 ^l	50 ^l
Kelvedon Hatch	50 ^l	61 ^l
Lambourn	60 ^l	100 ^l
Laver, High	80 ^l	120 ^l
Laver, Little	80 ^l	90 ^l
Moreton	50 ^l	120 ^l
Navestock	66.13.4	60 ^l
Norton Mandeville	26 ^l	20 ^l
Ongar, Chipping	18 ^l	50 ^l
Ongar, High	140 ^l	200 ^l
Roding, Abbess	60 ^l	75 ^l
Roding, Beauchamp	40 ^l	64.10
Stapleford Abbots	50 ^l	101.3.4
Stapleford Tawney	80 ^l	76.18.10 or
		129.18.10

Stanford Rivers	..	..	..	100 £	120 £
Stondon Massey	..	..	..	60 £	70.14.4
Theydon Bois	..	..	..	13.6.8	20 £
Theydon Mount	..	..	..	30 £ (<i>sic</i>)	92 £
North Weald Bassett	..	..	..	50 £	70 £

This list is clearly summarised in Add. MS. 38492, fol. 89. This MS. comprises a series of Puritan documents dating from about this time (1604). It was purchased at the Townshend sale, and probably came to that family from the Lewknors. It has on f. 81 and on ff. 82-5 two accounts, as yet unpublished, of the "Hampton Court Conference." The first is on a leaf endorsed, "To mi veriloveing and welbeloved husband sir Edward Lewkenor at mistres Quarles in Romford give these with speed." Robert Quarles of Stewards, Romford, brother of the poet Francis Quarles, had married Lewknor's daughter Hester.

F. 89 is entitled "Essex, a short survey of the ministry."

Preachers diligent and of honest life,	94
Preachers negligent or indifferent,	69
Non-resident or double-beneficed, and no preachers,	75
Ministers of scandalous life, whereof many also be non-resident and double-beneficed,	106
	—
sum: tot:	344
	—

Of 344 not one hundred of good and faithful preachers.

The numbers 94, 69 (i.e., 21 plus 48), 75, and 106, show clearly that this page is a summary of "The State of the Clargie." But it ignores minor items and does not allow for duplicates.

F. 90 gives figures for the Hundred of Risebridge (Suffolk).

Five (including Haverhill) dumb and unpreaching.

Ten (including Clare) preaching diligently and to edification.

Thirteen preaching negligently; five of these are marked "scandalous."

F. 91 gives figures for the Deaneries of Dallington and Hastings (East Sussex).

Among other contents of the same MS. is (f. 6) "The true copy of the Petition that about 200 yeomen of Essex and other parishes about Royston presented to His Majesty on Monday the 20 of November. One of the chieftest of them, being Mr. Hildersham, steward to Sir Francis Barrington, is bound over hereafter to appear before the Council when he shall be called. Some three others at the first stayed were after dismissed."

The substance of their complaint is as follows: "We have enjoyed the great benefit of faithful pastors, through whose ministry

we have been brought from darkness to light. Now these lights are in part extinguished, and we are threatened to be deprived of the residue that are left, unless your Majesty interpose, not suffering us to be committed either to idol shepherds that cannot feed us or to careless shepherds that aim only at the gain of the fleece and neglect the safety of the flock. . . .”

IV. CHARLES I.

At the expense of precise chronology, the disputes and controversies of this reign are arranged under four general heads: The Arminian Controversy; Lecturers and Chaplains; Visitations and Church Courts; the Communion Table; and the history of the second and last is carried beyond the present period. This arrangement seems justified by continuity of interest, if on no other grounds.

A. THE ARMINIAN CONTROVERSY.

The Arminian controversy, so far as England was concerned, began with a work by Richard Montague, Rector of Stanford Rivers (afterwards Bishop of Chichester and Norwich), entitled “A New Gag for an Old Goose.” A letter of his to Cosin (Cosin Correspondence, I. 32, Surtees Society) gives its origin:—

Dec. 12 (1624) . . . “About some 20 months since some of the Romish limitors had come within my pale and had been tampering with some woman at Stanford Rivers. Understanding thereof, I blanced them and settled the partie. But they came again, and she to me. Whereupon after other resolution to her I said that I desired to speak with them, for I was willing to learn and to save my soul if I were amiss, as well as they. Wherefore if they would not come to confer with me, I desired resolution in three propositions which I gave her written, promising to subscribe and to go to mass if in these things they could persuade me. They went to the quick. She gave them to the parties. I heard no more of them till the 5 of October last. Then she cometh to me and bringeth me from one A. P., who or what I know not, 2 sheets of paper written in 2 several hands, often without sense, without true orthography, nothing to my propositions . . . This missive I answered presently as I thought fit, and left it with her that brought me the paper, who said the partie promised to come again within four days. But he is not yet come, I understand. He also sent me a little whip-jack in a blew jacket, called “A Gagg for the newe Gospell,” that either I should be converted by it or answer it. This choice I was put to. It was not like to convert me. Had I not been settled,

it would have fastened me. I have seen many foolish things in that kind, but never saw more ; therefore answer it I must . . . and answer it I have—bitterly and tartly, I confess, which I did purposely, because the ass deserved so to be rubbed.”

B. LECTURERS AND CHAPLAINS.

Under the two first Stuarts Puritan ministers objecting to subscription, or to conformity, often held posts either as lecturers or as chaplains ; in either case they had no obligation to conform to the ceremonies. Our knowledge of both classes in Essex is of fair quantity, but very fragmentary. In the case of a few well established lectures we have a complete or nearly complete sequence, and know much about the men ; but in other places we hear only incidentally of lectures or lecturers, and there were probably others in places of which we know nothing. It is often not clear whether a man described as “ preacher ” was really lecturer, curate or rector. The life of Richard Blackerby seems to show a number of lectures in the north of Essex. Lectures were commonly maintained by voluntary contributions, though in some cases, e.g., Colchester and Ipswich, they were supported by the Corporation. The frequency of Puritans as chaplains and as lecturers is a sign of the preference of the religious laity, whether of the upper classes who kept chaplains, or of the middle classes who supported lectures.

The lives of Richard Blackerby and his son-in-law, Samuel Fairclough, among Clarke's *Lives of Eminent Persons*, though both belonging to Suffolk rather than to Essex, show how commonly Puritans were maintained as chaplains or lecturers.

Richard Blackerby, born at Worlington, Suffolk, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, became chaplain first to Sir Thomas Jermin of Rushbrooke, and then to Sir Edward Lewknor of Denham, both in Suffolk. Lewknor, M.P. for Maldon, was one of the leading Puritan laymen in the later years of Elizabeth ; see p. 13.

Blackerby next became minister of Feltwell, Norfolk, without institution or induction. Leaving this for nonconformity, he settled at Ashen, boarding and educating young men, and preaching lectures, especially at Castle Hedingham, Stoke-by-Clare, and Haverhill. Since he was near the junction of three counties (Essex, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire) and three dioceses (London, Norwich and Ely), if troubled in any one of these he could still work in the others. When his son-in-law, Christopher Burrell, became minister at Great Wratting, Blackerby lived there for a year, taking a lecture at Gestingthorpe. He finally took a pastoral

charge at Great Thurlow, where he died in 1648. In 1644 he was sought by the parishioners for the sequestration of Ashen. He was reported a little earlier to have said when preaching at Halstead, that to bow at the name of Jesus was to thrust a spear into Christ's side, and such ministers as signed children with the sign of the Cross did as much as in them lay to send such children to the devil.

Samuel Fairclough was born at Haverhill in 1594, son of Lawrence Fairclough, incumbent there for many years, who died in 1603. He was converted when still a schoolboy, under the influence of Samuel Ward, lecturer at Haverhill (afterwards at Ipswich) who had been his godfather. He went to Queens' College, Cambridge, at the age of fourteen. After his ordination he lived for a while with Blackerby at Ashen, preaching at Braintree, Colchester, Hedingham, Thaxted, Walden, Clare, and Sudbury. In 1619 he became lecturer of Lynn, being recommended to take this post rather than that of Clare. But on getting into trouble with Bishop Harsnett for having baptized a child without using the sign of the Cross, he recommended Mr. Iken, Fellow of Caius College, afterwards Rector of Stifford, for Lynn, and took the less prominent lectureship of Clare. He now married Blackerby's eldest daughter. Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, who used to attend this lecture, now offered him the living of Barnardiston, which he at first declined, recommending Mr. Weld, (afterwards of Terling, then of New England). But he finally accepted this living. He preached there twice every Lord's Day, once every festival day, and once every month a preparation sermon for the Communion, besides catechizing. (We have here a further proof that the Puritan ideal, where the difficulty of discipline did not present itself, was to have more frequent communions, monthly instead of the usual quarterly.) After being there nearly five years, he got into trouble at Sudbury; having preached there for a sick minister he was accused by the minister of the other parish for repeating his sermon in the family. The case ran on for two years. Sir Nathaniel now offered him Ketton (Kedington), urging the Barnardiston people to consent, and promising to appoint to them a learned and godly minister, Mr. Westley, lecturer of Haverhill. To both Ketton and Barnardiston Fairclough was instituted without taking the oath of canonical obedience, or subscribing to the three articles, and without personal attendance on the Bishop. He was about 35 years old when he went to Ketton, and remained there about 35 years till ejected by the Act of Uniformity. His successor was John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who according to Lady Barnardiston did not preach

the Gospel. Fairclough subsequently lived for some time at Finchingfield. (For his later history see Calamy or Davids. Clarke's whole life of him is very interesting.)

The lectures of Dedham and Wethersfield lasted in some shape till recently. But we have, thanks to Morant (p. 100) by far the most knowledge of that at Colchester. The office of General or Common Preacher there was founded about 1564. It was usually held by some noted preacher of Cambridge, who was chosen during the pleasure of the Corporation and licensed by the Bishop of London. It was at first endowed by subscription; but in 1576 a salary of £40 was assigned; in 1593 100 marks; in 1610 £10 was added for a house; in 1620 the salary was raised to £100 and £10. for a house. In 1662, when held by a neighbouring rector, it fell to £50; but £10 was added next year, and £10 more in 1668. In 1700 it was again £50. The lecturer was to preach every Sunday afternoon and Wednesday forenoon, on great festivals, fasts and fair-days, coronation days, elections, and gaol deliveries.

Morant's list of Lecturers is:—

- 1580. John Northye.
- 1593. Richard Harrys, D.D. (Rector, Gestingthorpe, 1599; Bradwell-on-Sea, 1612).
- 1609. William Ames, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College (on whom see D.N.B.).
- 1610. William Eyre, B.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College (Rector, Great Horkesley, 1618).
- 1617. Francis Liddell, M.A.
- 1628. Richard Maden, B.D. (Vicar, St. Peter, Colchester, 1630-32).
- 1631. William Bridge, M.A. (afterwards of Yarmouth).
- 1632. Richard Maden (again).
- 1635. John Knowles, M.A., Fellow of Catherine Hall (afterwards of Bristol).
- 1636. Richard Harmer, M.A.
- 1648. William Archer (of Halstead).
- 1657. Owen Stockton, M.A., Fellow of Caius College.
- 1662. Richard Pulley, M.A., Rector of Fordham.
- 1668. Dr. William Cole.
- 1683. The Lecture was to be preached by three beneficed clergy of the town.
- 1700. Dr. John Edwards.

There was a recurring dispute whether the Lecturer should be, as the Bishops wished, some beneficed minister of the town or neighbourhood, or someone completely unattached. As early as the resignation of Harrys, the Bishop wanted the Lecture preached by ministers in the town, "but the magistrates adhered to their old way." In 1662 Bishop Sheldon secured the appointment of the

Rector of Fordham ; in 1668 the old system was apparently restored ; in 1683 the newer. " At length," says Morant, " the office of a General Preacher dwindled into a few sermons preached by some of the clergy in the town, at the election and swearing of a mayor."

Maden had given the lectures at St. Botolph's or St. James, but on accepting St. Peter's they were held there. (S.P.D., CLXVI, 72 ; May 14, 1630.)

Several of these Lecturers are little known. Several resigned on appointment to benefices. But the list includes a number of marked Puritans. Northye was suspended about 1586 (see Peel, " Second Part of a Register " ; and Davids, pp. 106-7.) Ames, a great theologian, lived the later part of his life in exile in Holland, as professor at Franeker and afterwards at Rotterdam. On Bridge, Knowles, and Stockton, see Davids, pp. 528, 547, 365. Bridge, like Ames, took refuge in Holland, and Knowles in New England ; but both returned under the Long Parliament.

On the Lecturers at Dedham see Essex Archæological Society, Transactions N.S. xviii. 275 ; *Essex Review* XVIII, 44, and XXIX, 9. The list includes three very distinguished men.

Edmund Chapman, 1577-1602. See Usher, *The Dedham Classis* ;

Davids, p. 122 ; and the *Essex Review*, as above.

John Rogers, 1605 (?) -1636.

Matthew Newcomen, 1637-1662.

His successors are obscure, till we come to William Burkitt, the commentator ; Vicar of Dedham ; chosen Lecturer in 1692 (died 1703). He raised an endowment for the Lecture, previously supported only by subscription. This Lecture, thus endowed, lasted till in 1908 an Order-in-Council ordained that at the next voidance the Lectureship should amalgamated with the Vicarage, the Trustees of the Lectureship having the alternate patronage of the living.

There are monuments in the church to Chapman, Rogers, and Burkitt.

Burkitt says (MS. Rawlinson, D. 792) that the inhabitants raised £40 for Rogers, £80 for Newcomen, £70 for Grey, and £60 for himself. Grey and Burkitt himself were also Vicars.

Some stories of Rogers may be told here :—

(1) EARLY LIFE. " Mr. Richard Rogers of Wethersfield did send to help and maintain Mr. John Rogers, being his kinsman, in Cambridge ; it seems he proved so bad that he sold his books and spent the money. My grandmother (Susan, wife first of John Ward of Haverhill, then of Richard Rogers) moved her husband to buy



MONUMENT TO JOHN ROGERS AT DEDHAM CHURCH.

Inscription :—

IOHANNES ROGERSIVS
HIC QUAM
PRÆDICAUIT, EXPECTAT
RESVRRECTIONEM
Octobr. . 18 mo

Anno {	Domini	1636	} Obiit
	Ætatis	65	
	Ministerii	42	
	Huic Ecclesiæ	31	

Hoc Affect[us] Sinceri Simbolum
posuit GEO. DUNN, Chyrurg., Bonis.*

* Bonis *i.e.* Bononiensis, (Bologna in Italy, where Dunne had graduated in surgery). The elucidation is due to Canon Rendall, Litt.D., to whom I am also indebted for the loan of the photograph from which the block has been made. See "Dedham Tombstones," Essex Archæological Society's *Transactions*, xviii., 252-3.

him some books and send him to Cambridge again ; she, being a prudent woman, prevailed. Mr. John Rogers spent his books again ; Mr. Richard Rogers then would cast him off utterly, but my grandmother renews her request once more, and at last prevails to send him again ; then he held. That he was wild enough I conclude by . . . a speech of Mr. Rogers when he saw what God had done for his kinsman : ‘ I will never despair of a man, for John Rogers’ sake ’ . . . God intended this man to make him of great use, and a choice instrument he was in God’s hands for conversion of many souls, few men like him ; but God handled him accordingly, bruised him to purpose ; he would get under bushes in fields, pray and cry. He became an experimental preacher of legal workings, making good what Bishop (then Master) Brownrigg said of him to my father Ward . . . ‘ John Rogers will do more good with his wild note than we shall with our set music.’ Those who knew his manner of preaching and actings in preaching well knew what the Bishop meant by his *wild note* ; but it was very true, though such actions and speeches in other men would have been ridiculous, yet in him, being a man so holy, grave, and reverend, they went off with as much awe upon a very great and reverent auditory.”—(Giles Firmin : *The Real Christian*, 75.)

(2) Specimen of this preaching, told by Dr. Thomas Goodwin, when President of Magdalen College, Oxford, to John Howe :—

“ Being in the time of his youth a student at Cambridge, and having heard much of Mr. Rogers of Dedham in Essex, purposely he took a journey from Cambridge to Dedham to hear him preach on his Lecture day, a Lecture then so strangely thronged and frequented that to those that came not very early there was no possibility of getting room in that spacious large church. Mr. Rogers was at that time he heard him on the subject of the Scriptures. And in that sermon he falls into an expostulation with the people about their neglect of the Bible ; he personates God to the people, telling them, ‘ Well, I have trusted you so long with my Bible ; you have slighted it, it lies in such and such houses covered with dust and cobwebs, you care not to look into it. Do you use my Bible so ? Well, you shall have my Bible no longer.’ And he takes up the Bible from his cushion and seemed as if he were going away with it and carrying it from them, but immediately turns again and personates the people to God, falls down on his knees, cries and pleads most earnestly : ‘ Lord, whatsoever thou dost to us, take not thy Bible from us ; kill our children, burn our houses, destroy our goods, only spare us thy Bible, take not away thy Bible.’ And then he

personates God again to the people : ' Say you so ? Well I will try you a time longer, and here is my Bible for you. I will see how you will use it, whether you will love it more, whether you will observe it more, and live more according to it.' But by these actions (as the doctor told me) he put all this congregation into so strange a posture as he never saw any congregation in his life ; the place was a mere *Eccebum*, the people generally (as it were) deluged with their own tears, and he told me that he himself, when he got up and was to take horse again to be gone, he was fain to hang a quarter of an hour upon the neck of his horse weeping, before he had power to mount ; so strange an impression was there upon him and generally upon the people, upon being thus expostulated with for their neglect of the Bible."

Howe Works, VI. 403 ; Principles of the Oracles of God, Lecture X.

At Wethersfield the succession is :—

Richard Rogers, 1572–1618. Lecturer 46 years.

Stephen Marshall, 1618–? Went to Finchingfield, 1625.

Daniel Rogers son of Richard, 1625 ?–1652. He is down in the list of 1630 as one of the " non-conformable," but in 1632 Aylett speaks of one *Attwood* as being really Lecturer though called curate. Collins and Barkham write on Rogers' behalf, July 1631.

I know nothing of successors of Rogers, except Samuel Symonds 1663.

In other parishes no succession can be traced.

Earls Colne. Thomas Sheppard (Shepherd).

Halstead. John (?) Archer.

Great Waltham. John Fuller, 1632–; still there apparently 1652.

Chelmsford. Thomas Hooker, expelled in 1630.

On the Suffolk border we have a succession at Haverhill.

John Ward, d. 1598 ; but had latterly been Lecturer at Bury.

Samuel Ward, his son ; (brother of Nathaniel Ward of Stondon). To Ipswich about 1605.

John Rogers ; afterwards of Dedham.

Westley ; succeeded Fairclough at Barnardiston, about 1628.

Much later, it would seem as if George Moxon and Stephen Scanderet successively held the post, till the Act of Uniformity.

At Clare, Samuel Fairclough was Lecturer for some years. Probably some of whom we read as " preachers " at Sudbury were Lecturers there.

The best known CHAPLAINS in Essex are those of Sir William Masham of Ores. High Laver. Two of them in succession went to

New England and distinguished themselves there Roger Williams and John Norton.

Among the Barrington papers is a letter (MS. Egerton, 2643, 1) from Roger Williams to Joan, Lady Barrington, about a possible marriage with her niece. Their names have been coupled by talkers, but he will not go further without Lady Barrington's consent. He carefully states his prospects and resources. "It is well known, though I would gladly conceal myself, how a gracious God and a tender conscience (as Balak said to Balaam) hath kept me back from honour and preferment. Besides my former offers and the late New England call, I have since two several livings proffered me, each of over £100 per annum." But he does not see his way to leave Otes. Lady Barrington apparently refused her consent; in his next letter (May 2, 1629) he expresses grave dissatisfaction with her spiritual condition. He married Mary Barnard at High Laver, December 15, 1629, and soon after went to New England. For his history there, see *D.N.B.*

His successor at Otes was John Norton, who was also married at High Laver before going to New England. The entry is curiously worded: "John Norton, clerk, and Mary his wife, were married August 19, 1634." On him, see Davids.

I do not know the next chaplains there. By 1654 Henry Lukin (Lakin) was chaplain. In March 1658-9 he was admitted by the Triers to the living of Chipping Ongar, but can have held it only a few months. He went on the continent as tutor to the young Sir William Masham, who died abroad. On his return in 1662 or 1663 he did not conform. He lived for many years at Matching Hall, the house of Mrs. Masham, mother of Sir William and his brother Sir Francis. He was one of the last survivors of the original nonconformists, dying in 1719, in his 92nd year.

Of chaplains to the Barringtons I know only of Ezekiel Rogers, who became minister of Rowley in Yorkshire (several letters from whence are among the Barrington papers) and then of the settlement of the same name in New England. James Harrison, Lecturer of Hatfield, an old man in 1637, dead by 1643, was probably also chaplain.

It would be interesting to know the names of the Earl of Warwick's chaplains. I know only of John Gauden, afterwards of Bocking; Anthony Walker, afterwards of Fyfield; and Henry Hawes, B.A., Catherine Hall, Cambridge, ordained by the Fourth Classis of London, May 1, 1651. Later still the chaplain at Leighs was Thomas Woodroffe, ejected from Chartham, Kent, in 1660.

Laud, first as Bishop of London and then as Archbishop, strove as far as possible to suppress chaplains and lecturers. None but peers and men of high rank were to keep chaplains in their houses. This order must have greatly irritated the important gentry, especially the baronets; but except for the name it was easily evaded. A young man from the University would be kept all the same, called tutor to the children instead of chaplain.

The lecturers were dealt with (1) by prohibiting afternoon sermons, which were to be replaced by catechizing; (2) by ordering that every lecturer should read divine service in his surplice before preaching; (3) by ordering that no one should accept a lectureship in a corporate town unless willing to accept a cure of souls in it. Also the bishops were enjoined not to ordain any man who could not show he was about to undertake the cure of souls. This struck at lecturers and chaplains alike; though it could also be evaded. (Gardiner, *History* VII., 130, 304.)

The insistence on the Prayer Book service instead of, or preceding, the sermons people came to hear, was one of the causes why in 1645 the use of it was rendered illegal instead of being left optional in whole or part. But the main reason was that the help of the Scots was needed; they insisted on one form of church government and worship in both kingdoms; thus the Prayer Book, which the Scots hated, had to go.

Early in the history of the Long Parliament there were many appointments of lecturers. The easiest way for parishioners to get sermons to their own liking was to elect a lecturer, to preach (as a rule) on Sunday afternoons. Hence sometimes morning and afternoon sermons were in opposition, as at Rayne. We know of only a few Essex cases from the Commons' Journals—William Spalding at Saffron Walden, and John Bowyer to preach at Barking in the morning and at Dagenham in the afternoon. (C.J. III, 270.) From other sources we find William Voyle so chosen at Radwinter, in opposition to Richard Drake; and (Lemuel) Tuke at Rayne as against Edward Symonds.

Our great source of information about the Lecture at Earls Colne is the autobiography of Thomas Shepard (Young, *Churches of the First Puritans of the Colony of Massachusetts*.)

Dr. Wilson, a physician, resolved to endow a lectureship with the annual sum of £30. This was not to continue more than three years in any one place, "because it was conceived that if any good was done, it would be within such a time; and then if it went away from there, the people in a populous town would be

glad to maintain the man themselves ; or if no good was done, it were pity they should have it any longer." Shepard, then a young man shortly to take his M.A. degree, was living with Mr. Weld at Terling, "where he enjoyed the blessing of his and Mr. Hooker's ministry at Chelmsford" (1626) It was proposed that the above lectureship should be set up at Coggeshall, and that Shepard should take it. "After fasting and prayer, the ministers in those parts of Essex had a day of humiliation, and they did seek the Lord for direction where to place the lecture ; and towards the evening of that day they began to consider whether I should go to Coggeshall or no. Most of the ministers were for it because it was a great town, and they did not know any place that did desire it but they. Mr. Hooker only did object to my going thither, for being but young and inexperienced and there being an old yet sly and malicious minister in that town, who did seem to give way to it to have it there, (he) did therefore say it was dangerous and uncomfortable for little birds to build under the nests of old ravens and kites !" But the people of Earls Colne came to Terling where the ministers were, and desired that the lecture might be seated there. The ministers then asked Shepard to take it ; "I was," he says, "called out by twelve or sixteen ministers of Christ to the work." After commencing Master of Arts and his "sinful taking of Orders about a fortnight after" from Bishop Dove of Peterboro', he came to Earls Colne. After his first sermon on 2 Cor. v, 19, "all the town gave me a call and set their hands to it in writing. . . Yet I sinfully got a license to officiate the cure of the Bishop of London's register, before my name was known."

This narrative brings out two points : (1) The practice of young men to prepare for the ministry by living with some well-known minister ; compare the lives of Blackerby and Fairclough. (2) The meetings of Puritan ministers, very much as in the days of the Dedham Classis.

Shepard was very successful at Earls Colne, especially with the Harlackendens. But he met with opposition from the officials, on not very clear grounds. "Satan then began to rage, and the commissaries, registers, and all began to pursue me and threaten me, as thinking I was an inconvertible man, when for the most part of that time I was not resolved either way, but was dark in these things." When the three years were out, the people resolved to keep him, gathering about £40 yearly ; the endowment was transferred to Shepard's native parish of Towcester.

But when Laud became Bishop of London "a fierce enemy to

all righteousness, and a man fitted by God to be the scourge of his people," he presently sent for Shepard to London, and asked not whether he would subscribe, but what he had to do to preach in his diocese; and after many railing speeches forbade him to preach. But he remained at Earls Colne for half a year more till the Visitation of 1631 (q.v.) Meanwhile he came to see the evil of the ceremonies. Having then to leave, he went for a while to Yorkshire on the invitation of Ezekiel Rogers, and from thence to New England. The lecture at Earls Colne seems to have ended with him.

At Chelmsford the Lecture was apparently held on Tuesdays. Our knowledge of it is mostly in connection with Thomas Hooker, from 1626 to 1629 or 1630. But from a letter of Jeffrey Watts, given below, it appears that the Lecture had in former times, for the space of two years, been delivered by neighbouring beneficed clergy in turn; this had not been very popular. It, however, was again resorted to after Hooker was forced to give it up.

Our great source for knowledge of Hooker's work there is Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*. He tells us a good deal about Essex Puritan ministers who went to New England and stayed there, (not so much about those who returned, as Nathaniel Ward, Thomas Weld, John Knowles, Hugh Peters.) These include John Norton, Ezekiel and Nathaniel Rogers, Thomas Shepard, John Ward and John Wilson. (The names of early settlements shows how many colonists came from Essex or neighbourhood—Ipswich, Dedham, Sudbury, Braintree, Chelmsford, Springfield, Wethersfield, Topsfield, Haverhill.)

It is somewhat difficult to fit in some of the details given as to Hooker by Mather with the more fragmentary accounts in the State Papers, belonging to 1629 and 1630. Hence I give the two separately. Both agree in recognizing Hooker's wonderful influence.

Hooker was born at Marfield, Leicestershire, in 1586. After graduating at Cambridge (Emmanuel College) he settled at Esher. He there formed a most intimate acquaintance with Mr. Rogers of Dedham, who tried hard to get him settled at Colchester; but this fell through. "Chelmsford in Essex, a town of great consequence, wanting one to break the bread of life unto them, and hearing the fame of Mr. Hooker's powerful ministry, addressed him to become their Lecturer, and he accepted this offer about the year 1626, becoming not only their Lecturer, but also on the Lord's Day an assistant unto Mr. Mitchel (Michaelson) the incumbent of the place, who though he were a *smaller*, yet being a *godly*

person, gladly encouraged Mr. Hooker, and lived with him in a most comfortable amity. Here his lecture was exceeding frequented and proportionably succeeded ; and the light of his ministry shone through the whole county of Essex. Hereby there was a great reformation wrought not only in the town, but in the adjacent country, from all parts whereof they came to hear the wisdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . When he first set up his lecture, there was more profaneness than devotion in the town ; and the multitude of inns and shops in the town produced one particular disorder, of people filling the streets with unseasonable behaviour after the public services of the Lord's Day were over. But by the power of his ministry in public, and by the prudence of his carriage in private, he quickly cleared the streets of this disorder, and the Sabbath came to be very visibly sanctified among the people.

The conscientious nonconformity of Mr. Hooker to some rites of the Church of England, then vigorously pressed, especially upon all such able and useful ministers as were most likely to be laid aside by the scrupling of these rites, made it necessary for him to lay down his ministry in Chelmsford when he had been for about four years there employed in it. Hereupon, at the request of some eminent persons, he kept a school in his own hired house, having Mr. John Eliot [the future apostle of the Indians] for his usher, at Little Baddow, not far from Chelmsford. While he continued thus in the heart of Essex, and in the hearts of the people there, he signalled his usefulness in many other instances. The godly ministers round about the country would have recourse to him to be directed and resolved in their difficult cases, and it was by his means that those godly ministers held their monthly meeting for fasting and prayer and profitable conference. Twas the effect of his consultations also that such godly ministers came to be here and there settled in several parts of the country, and many others came to be better established in some great points of Christianity by being in his neighbourhood and acquaintance. . . . But that which hindered his taking his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, must also it seems hinder his being a preacher of divinity, namely his being a nonconformist unto such things whereof true divinity could not approve. . . . The spiritual court sitting at Chelmsford about the year 1630 had not only silenced Mr. Hooker, but also bound him over in a bond of fifty pounds to appear before the High Commission, which he could not now attend because of an ague then upon him. One of his hearers, namely Mr. Nash a very honest yeoman, that rented a great farm of the Earl of Warwick at Much Waltham

. . . was bound in that sum for his appearance ; . . . but Mr. Hooker's friends advised him to forfeit his bonds rather than to throw himself any further into the hands of his enemies ; whereupon when the day for his appearance came, his honest surety being reimbursed by several good people in and near Chelmsford sent in the forfeited sum into the court . . . and Mr. Hooker having by the Earl of Warwick a courteous and private recess provided for his family at a place called Old Park, he went over to Holland."

He subsequently returned to England and after some narrow escapes from arrest went to New England in 1635 ; he became minister of Hartford.

Most of his sermons at Chelmsford were taken down by his hearers in shorthand, and many published without his knowledge or consent ; " whereby his notions came to be deformedly misrepresented in multitudes of passages."

Mather gives the following as an example of his boldness :

" When the judges were in their circuit present at Chelmsford on a fast day kept throughout the nation, Mr. Hooker then in the presence of the judges and before a vast congregation, declared freely the sins of England and the plagues that would come from such sins ; and in his prayer he besought the God of heaven to set on the heart of the King what his own mouth had spoken in the second chapter of Malachi and the eleventh and twelfth verses (in his prayer he distinctly quoted it) : ' An abomination is committed, Judah hath married the daughter of a strange god, the Lord will cut off the man that doeth this.' Though the judges turned unto the place thus quoted, Mr. Hooker came into no trouble, but it was not long before the kingdom did."

An instance of his great influence over other ministers is given in the case of Nathaniel Rogers, son of John Rogers of Dedham. He was curate to Dr. Barkham, Dean of Bocking.

" Dr. Barkham was a good preacher himself, and he was also ready to gratify his parishioners, who were many of them religiously disposed ; hence, though the Doctor would not spare a tenth part of his revenues, which from his divers livings amounted to near a thousand a year, to one who did three quarters of his work, yet he was otherwise very civil and courteous to Mr. Rogers, whom his parishioners handsomely maintained out of their own purses, and showed what a room he had in their hearts by doing so." Rogers had so far not troubled about the ceremonies, but now " Mr. Hooker now Lecturer at Chelmsford, understanding that the young preacher was the son of a father whom he most highly respected, communi-

cated with him the ground of his own dissatisfaction with the ceremonies then enforced." Dr. Barkham, being present at the funeral of an eminent person at Bocking, saw that his curate forbore to put on the surplice, and was naturally much displeased. "He was so much of a gentleman as not to put a public affront upon Mr. Rogers; yet he gave him private advice to provide for himself in some other place." The people of Bromley, Essex, sought to get him; but he took the living of Assington, Suffolk, where he was for five years; he married the daughter of Mr. Crane of Coggeshall. In 1636 he resigned this living, and went over to New England.

The State Papers dealing with Hooker or with the continuation of the Lecture all belong to 1629 and 1630. On May 20, 1629, Samuel Collins, Vicar of Braintree, writes to Dr. Duck, Chancellor of the diocese, to the effect that he has interviewed Hooker, who is willing to depart quietly. Collins strongly urges that this be allowed; rigorous proceedings against him by the High Commission will cause great ill-feeling in the county; and if he is suspended by that court "it is the resolution of his friends and himself to settle his abode in Essex, and maintenance is promised him for the fruition of his private conference," which has done more harm than his public preaching. "His genius will still haunt all the pulpits in the country where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach, who are for the most part men of bold and fiery spirits, and dare vent things which their master in public never durst. There be divers young ministers about us that seldom study, but spend their time in private meetings and conference with him or such others as are of his society, and return home in the end of the week and broach on the Sundays what he hath brewed, and trade with his stock. He is their oracle in cases of conscience and points of divinity, and their principal library. Our people's palates grow so out of taste that no food contents them but of Mr. Hooker's dressing. . . . I have lived in Essex to see many changes, and have seen the people idolizing many new ministers and sect-makers (?); but this man, surpassing them all for learning and some other commendable parts, and being altogether unconformable, gains more and far greater followers than all before him. And such is the disposition of our people, as I know not any country where he is like so much to prevail as here, unless it be in the diocese of Norwich. . . ."

Collins goes on to give advice about the future of the Lectureship. "If he be gone from Chelmsford, I presume my Lord of London will be careful who succeeds in the Lecture there. Nought will please them but a man of Mr. Hooker's choice. They must

have one who may draw tumults and troops of the country to their inns and shops, which a regular man cannot do, let his sufficiency and honesty be what it will." (State Papers Domestic, Charles I., 142, 113.)

On June 3rd Collins writes again to Duck (144, 36), that he has failed to see Hooker, who has gone to Leicestershire, but is coming to London. He repeats the desirability of letting him go quietly, and gives a vivid picture of the excitement about the case. "It drowns the noise of the great question of tonnage and poundage."

But on Nov. 3rd John Browning, Rector of Rawreth, writes to the Bishop (151, 12) that Hooker, lately in question before him, still continues his former practices, for all they know or see. He asks the help of the Bishop's authority "if not to the oppressing and rooting out (as we hope) of such a one from amongst us, yet at least to the defending those who live in obedience, and would be heartily glad that our labours might prove successful, our studies fruitful, and ourselves profitable to this church and people." . . . "It is thought that the people hereabouts, being much addicted to 'hearing the Word,' as they call it, to the neglect of God's service and worship, great heartburnings may arise against the suppressors of this man and his lecture. If it be thought necessary to continue it, either to satisfy the desire of a number of people or to reduce the perverted to further obedience and accustomed discipline," he offers his services.

A week later, Nov. 10th, comes a letter from forty-nine beneficed clergy of Essex, in favour of Hooker (151, 45). "We whose names are underwritten, being ministers in the parts adjoining, all beneficed men and obedient to his Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, do hereby give your Lordship to understand that we all esteem and know the said Mr. Thomas Hooker to be for doctrine orthodox and life and conversation honest, and his disposition peaceable, in no ways turbulent or factious; and so not doubting that he will continue that good course, commending him and his lawful suit to your Lordship's favour." The full list of signatures is given by Davids. Michaelson of Chelmsford comes high up on it; others in the neighbourhood are Burr (Broomfield); Newton (Little Baddow); Manning (Chignal Smealey); Dillingham (Sandon); Bound and Joyner (Springfield); Aleyn (Little Waltham); and Broke (Woodham Walter). Collins also signs it.

But next week, Nov. 17th, comes a counter-petition (152, 4), of forty-one conformable clergy of the diocese, praying for the enforcement of uniformity. Hooker is not specially named; this

may explain how three men sign *both* letters : (Hewett of Bulphan, Paley of Heybridge, Padmore of South Weald). They pray the bishop to take the state of the diocese into consideration, and to enforce the irregulars to conform ; if there be any found either superstitious or profane, to deal with them according to his wisdom, and so purge the whole body of the diocese of whatsoever doth or may disturb the peace and welfare of the same. The petition is given more fully by Davids. “ Non sine causa humilitatis petit,” says Clark of Great Baddow. Other signatories round Chelmsford are Oxley of Chignal St. James, Harrison of Mashbury, Mapletoft of Margaretting, Browning of Rawreth, Durden of Runwell, Broke of Widford, Webb of Woodham Ferris, and South of Writtle. It will be seen that nearly all the neighbouring clergy sign one or other.

About the same time (Nov. 18th) comes a “ list of certain ministers beneficed within five miles of Chelmsford ” (152,16), probably drawn up by Browning, whose name comes last of the original thirteen. Signatories of either paper are found indiscriminately. John Michaelson of Chelmsford heads the list, followed by Jeffrey Watts of Much Leighs, Bound, and South. One name, however, has been struck through—Daniel Duerden, schoolmaster of Chelmsford and Rector of North Benfleet ; and three others added : Dillingham of Sandon, Burr of Broomfield, and Brooke of Woodham Walter.

The list must have been drawn up with a view to the selection of Lecturers. It omits the incumbents of Boreham, Little Baddow, Danbury, Fryerning, Widford, and Great Waltham ; this last was perhaps vacant. The only one who had signed neither paper is Watts.

In February 1630, after Hooker was gone, it was decided to have the Lecture preached by neighbouring beneficed clergy in turn. But some of them thought this would be unpopular and useless. These are represented by Jeffrey Watts, who writes to Duck on Feb. 11th (160,66), that he had last Wednesday had a letter from Mr. Michaelson requiring him in the name of the Bishop to preach next Tuesday for the re-establishment of the Lecture. He had refused, not so much because of the shortness of notice, but on ground common to him and other clergy also nominated. They are all ready to uphold the Lecture, and to show their respect for their market-town ; but they fear the disrespect which will follow, and the small success of this preaching to a people nothing desiring it. So they had found it previously, “ and therefore now must

much more expect to be slighted and neglected, whenas we succeed their most affected single Lecturer with a nowhit desired combination of preachers." The people will soon say, "Who required this of you?"

But other clergy were willing to do their part. On Feb. 4th Dr. Robert Aylett writes to Laud from his house at Feering (161,54) : "I was last Tuesday at Chelmsford Lecture, when Mr. South of Writtle preached, who in handling the chief part of his text, Peace Ecclesiastical, spake so pertinently against the schism of inconformity and so gently advised them all to peace, that a principal lawyer of the town told me as we came out of the church, 'A few such excellent sermons would bring the people again in love with conformity.' " Aylett had thanked the preacher in the Bishop's name. But he saw no conformity in hood and surplice, nor was the full service held ; " the Confession and Absolution were read by Mr. Michaelson, a Psalm sung, and to the Sermon." As Chelmsford is not twelve miles from Aylett's house, he offers to attend constantly and to suppress all disorders.

On March 24th he writes again (165,45), that he was yesterday at Chelmsford Lecture, when "Mr. Browning of Raleigh (*sic*) read the whole service, both first and second, in hood and surplice, and preached a sermon than which I never heard a better, nor more according to the time and occasion." Some learned clergy agreed with him that it ought to be printed. Browning's low voice was the cause, it was not heard by some and mistaken by others. "The chief townsmen were so pleased with the sermon that they gave present order to discharge the preacher's whole charge of horse-meat, diet and lodging, and I understand they resolve so to continue." He wishes the Bishop would ask Browning to print, and hopes that Michaelson will be conformable.

From this point the Lecture drops out of sight. Aylett omits to say whether it was well attended. It may have continued to be valued, though the excitement had ceased ; or it may have died out before long.

A note may here be added on the two petitions of November, 1629. Davids gives the full list of signatures to both ; but a few corrections are needed.

"Horsfield" should be "Pasfield." Scott is of Hackwell, i.e., Hawkwell ; Bull is of Stow Maris, not Bowmans ; the Rector of Great Warley is John Staesmore ; Childerley is of Shenfield. Davids also assigns the short statements to the wrong men ; each is that of the man whose name *follows*. "For conformity I am

a humble petitioner with the rest of my brethren " are the words not of Padmore of South Weald, but of Thomas Horsmanden of Purleigh. "*None sine causa humilitatis petit,*" belongs to John Clark of Great Baddow, not to Paley of Heybridge; and the four following statements belong not to Childerley, Jackson (North Ockendon), Willan (Stanway), and Eyre (Horkesley), but to Innes (Dovercourt), Willan, Eyre, and Cooke (Mundon) respectively.

Of course, a very large proportion of these clergy were gone before the Troubles. Two of the signatories to the petition for Hooker were themselves deprived by Laud not long after—Thomas Weld of Terling, and Nathaniel Ward of Stondon. Both went to New England, and returned under the Long Parliament. Weld visited Laud in the Tower, and asked him if he had repented; he became Vicar of Gateshead. Ward, also a notable man, became Rector of Shenfield.

But of those supporting Hooker about twenty were still beneficed in 1643, including Stephen Marshall of Finchingfield, Samuel Collins of Braintree, John Michaelson of Chelmsford. Only three of these suffered sequestration: Michaelson, Pindar of Stock, and Rogers of Messing (then of Bishopsgate). Bedell of Little Leighs (afterwards of Barnston) lived to be ejected for nonconformity in 1662.

Naturally one expects far more sequestrations among the signatories to the second petition, not of course on account of it, but because it shows their general position. This was the case with Norton of Dunton, Hurt of Horndon-on-the-Hill, Browning of Rawreth, Bonyman of Kelvedon (then of Pleshey), Allen of Fobbing (then of Tollesbury), Nettles of Lexden, Honifold of Ardeleigh, Jegon of Sible Hedingham, Meighen of Tolleshunt (then of Great Braxted), Webbe of Little Braxted (then of Sawbridge-worth), Childerley of Shenfield, Burie of Bradwell-on-Sea. In fact hardly any seem to have escaped except Hewett of Bulphan (who had also signed the other petition) and Jackson of North Ockendon. But there are a few obscure cases.

A similar line of cleavage appears in the case of Calendrine's testimonials ten years later.

Cæsar Calendrinus, an Italian, became Rector of Stapleford Abbots in June 1620, in succession to Godfrey Goodman. There is some doubt whether he had any other than Continental Presbyterian ordination; on his appointment Bishop Morton was asked by Archbishop Mark Antony de Dominis to ordain him according to the English Church, but declined on the ground that re-ordination would give offence to the Reformed Churches abroad.

He may however have been ordained later by some Bishop of other views ; but in November 1624 his neighbour, Richard Montagu of Stanford Rivers, writes to Cosin : “ [Mr. Shaw’s friends] may fetch Calendrine about for his benefice, as being not a priest when he was instituted according to our English Church. If he were endemized * haply Mr. Shaw will work upon it. There is no harm in putting this into his head and if it may be by such an opportunity to vindicate us from these ministers not priests.”†

About 1639 Calendrine became minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars. Among the archives of that church is a certificate from a number of English clergy, mainly neighbours of his in Essex, testifying to his character and orthodoxy ; the first signature is that of Thomas Wynnyffe, Dean of St. Paul’s, and Rector of the next parish, Lambourne.

“ We whose Names are here underwritten doe testifie that these many years we have known Mr. Cesar Calandrine, Rector of the Parsonage of Stapleford Abbots in Essex, his doctrine hath been orthodox and consonant to the Faith of the Reformed Churches, and his life without any scandall that has come to our eares, but hath given good example and both by his preaching and conversation discharged the part of a faithfull servant of ye Gospel, to the edification and comfort of ye Church of God.”

THOMAS WYNNYFF, Decanus Ecclesie Sancti Pauli, London.

JOHN MORSE, Minister of Romford.

JOHN GRANT, D.D.

JOHN PEACHIE, Minister at Havering Bower.

SAMUEL HOARD, Rector of Morton.

WILLIAM YOUNG, Rector de Greensted.

DAN. JOYNER, Rector de Chipping Ongar.

MATTHIAS STYLES, S.T.B.

WILLIAM GOUGH, S.T.P.

JOHN FIRMIN, Curate of Lambourne.

ANTHONY SABRIDGE, Parson of Stondon.

SAM. FISHER, Vicar of Navestock.

EDWARD GREENE, Rector de Shelly.

THEOD. HERRING, Rector de Doding-hurst.

(Hessels : *Ecclesiæ Lond. Batav. Archiv.*, Tomus III, Par. II.)

It is obvious that all the signatories were non-Laudians. It is interesting to observe their fate during the Troubles.

Young died in 1641. Greene, Herring, Hoard, Morse, and Sabridge kept their livings ; Firmin, Joyner and Peachie got promotion ; Styles lost his London livings but kept Orsett ; Winniffe, who had become Bishop of Lincoln in 1641, of course, lost his

* *i.e.*, naturalised.

† Cosin Correspondence : I, 30. Surtees Society.

bishopric ; but the only man to be sequestered from an Essex living was Fisher of Navestock ; the grounds are not known.

There is a great contrast between the fate of the signatories and that of other neighbouring clergy who did not sign. The other parishes next or next but one to Stapleford Abbots are Stapleford Tawney, Theydon Mount, Theydon Garnon, Chigwell, Dagenham, South Weald, Kelvedon Hatch, Stanford Rivers ; there was a sequestration at *every one* of these. Apparently there were very few cases in Essex where men of any Puritan sympathies or any respect for Puritans were sequestered, though such cases do occur—Fisher of Navestock, Michaelson of Chelmsford, Symons of Rayne, Pindar of Stock.

On June 12th, 1632, Dr. Aylett gave Laud an account of various Lecturers in Essex (S.P.D., Charles I., 218, 43) ; (given almost completely by Davids, 170f.)

ROCHFORD. Mr. Fenner lectures only in his own parish, and besides his own affirmation of his exact order and observing conformity, I had a good report of divers of his neighbour ministers, both for his conformity, learning and painfulness in his place, and his forwardness both in his teaching and practice to bring others to conformity.

DEDHAM. I have enquired, but cannot find the Common Prayers omitted before the Lecture, but the minister of the place often omits the surplice in the time of reading prayer, for which I have admonished him, together with Mr. Rogers, the Lecturer.

WETHERSFIELD. There was no Lecturer when I did enquire, but all things conformably practised ; yet since I am credibly informed that Mr. Attwood, a great unconformist, is there indeed a Lecturer, admitted under the colour of being curate. He was of Stysted in Dr. Barkham's jurisdiction, where he was famous for conventicles and unconformity, and should have been articted against in the High Commission but he left Stysted and is commended to Wethersfield, but by whose certificate it would be enquired.

FELSTED. Mr. Wharton, vicar there, keeps no certain Lecture, but sometimes weekly and sometimes every fortnight, as he pleaseth to give notice at church. His singularity herein is to be observed. His churchwardens return to us that prayers are read before the Lecture in the surplice, but I am informed he comes seldom to church on Sundays till prayers be ended, which gives occasion to the people lightly to esteem of public prayers.

MANNINGTREE. Mr. Witham, parson of Mistley, preacheth

weekly in a chapel-of-ease in Manningtree, a market town yet belonging to Mistley. Mr. Witham is conformable, but hath no surplice at his chapel. They allege this excuse, that the chapel is not yet consecrated, but only allowed for prayers and preaching by a faculty from my Lord's Grace, and therefore no surplice is there (as they say they are told) to be used. They desire much to have it consecrated, and pretend they desire your lordship would be pleased to that effect to depute my Lord Bishop of Norwich on his way to or from London.

WALDEN. Mr. Burdett is admitted curate, but only as I conceive for a colour, for he is in deed and practice a lecturer, not to be suffered except he duly and conformably reads and serves the cure.

FINCHINGFIELD. Mr. Marshall, parson there, only preacheth on the holy days, and is in all very conformable.

ST. LEONARD'S AND ST. JAMES', COLCHESTER. These only hold a monthly Lecture on the Friday before their Communion, and always read the Litany and other prayers before their sermons, in their surplice, of which I dare more confidently testify in respect I have sent divers ministers to see, and they have certified me as I have said.

HEDNINGHAM CASTLE. Mr. Brewer, the minister of the place, lectures weekly. I sent for the churchwardens, who made me this answer : That the parish is great and the living small, and that they allow £20 a year to their minister, who never omits to read prayers before the Lecture, and seldom omitteth to wear the surplice. I admonished both him and the churchwardens that they should not at any time omit the surplice, and they promised to observe my admonition.

COPFORD AND BIRCH MAGNA. These are both Dr. Ram's livings, and Mr. Nicholson is his curate and serves at one when Dr. Ram is at the other, and preacheth at each of them a monthly Lecture, for which the parishioners add to his means. But Dr. Ram hath undertaken for his conformity at every Lecture, and I have no doubt thereof.

CHELMSFORD. I openly in the church of Chelmsford charged Mr. Michelson with his seldom coming till prayers were ended, and in your lordship's name charged the churchwardens if he continued such omissions to present him ; dismissing him then with this admonition.

He adds : " Matters presently to be enquired of and reformed."

COLCHESTER. There are two preachers preach on Sundays in

the afternoons at several hours, by which catechizing is little frequented ; if they be ordered to preach both at the same hour that offence will be taken away.

GREAT WALTHAM. There is a learned and grave man from Oxford, vicar, and a young hot fellow, one Fuller, Lecturer, who, I fear, will pull down faster than the vicar can build up in conformity.

With this account compare that of Bishop Wren of Lecturers in the diocese of Norwich, Dec. 7th, 1636 :—

“ Lecturers abounded especially in Suffolk, not a market or a bowling green or an ordinary could stand without one, and many of them were set up by private gentlemen at their pleasure.” At Ipswich there had been none since Samuel Ward’s censure. The Bishop would be willing to accept another, “ but they are resolved to have him or none.” He gives the rules he has laid down for the Lectures at Bury St. Edmunds ; these are the model for other places. He has made a difficulty about a Lecture at East Bergholt, not a market town and close to Dedham. At Haverhill a young fellow thrust himself in a Lecture *sede vacante* ; the bishop will give him a trial. Nothing is said of Lecturers at Sudbury or Clare.

C. VISITATIONS AND CHURCH COURTS.

State Papers Domestic, Charles I., CLXXV., 104, is a list of “ Such ministers in Essex who are not conformable in preaching nor practice.”

1. Mr. Thomas Shepheard, Lecturer of Earles Colne in ye Deanry of Lexden, first erected by a phisitian, Dr. Wilson.
2. Mr. Thomas Weld, Vicar of Terling in ye Deanry of Witham.
3. Mr. Broday, a Scottish man, Vicar of Bentley in ye Deanry of Tendring.
4. Mr. Daniel Rogers, Lecturer of Wethersfield in ye Deanry of Hedningham.
5. Mr. Seton, now or late usher to ye schole in Felsted in ye Deanry of Dunmow, a bold boy and unlicensed.
6. Mr. Ward, parson of Stondon in ye Deanry of Ongar.
7. Mr. Bedell, parson of Little Leighs in ye Deanry of Chelmsford.
8. One Mr. Grimes, a Lecturer in London, preached in Brentwood and affirmed that *bowing ye head at ye name of Jesus was flat idolatry*. It is said yt Mr. Cartwright who preached at Paules Cross 14 November was present at ye Sermon.
9. One Mr. Jeffrey, Vicar of Southminster in Dengy Deanry, whose living is in ye gift of Suttons Hospital, is much scandalous both for life and doctrine.

10. The like is said of Mr. Carver, Vicar of Burnham, being ye next townne, for his life.

11. Mr. John Rogers, Lecturer of Dedham, hath been much suspected, but hath protested his opinion to be for conformity in a visitation sermon at Colchester.

Endorsed, Nov. 25th, 1630: "The names of such ministers in Essex as are not conformable."

On this list it may be noted that while questions of life or character come up in two cases, in all the rest the question is simply conformity. So far as this goes it bears out the Puritan contention that the Bishops were far more concerned with conformity than with character. Carver died in 1639; Jeffrey, of whom there were complaints at the Visitation of 1637, yet kept his living till sequestered by the Long Parliament; Weld and Ward were deprived of their livings, and, like Shepard, went to New England.

It is noticeable that the name of Stephen Marshall of Finchingfield does not occur; nor does that of the Lecturer of Colchester.

It also does not appear when and how this list was dealt with. Some, not all, are mentioned in the accounts of the Visitation in the next year.

Bishop Laud's Visitation of 1631 began at Brentwood on August 30th, but we know little about it till he reached Kelvedon and Braintree. At Kelvedon (Sept. 3rd) the preacher was Nehemiah Rogers of Messing; his text, Neh. viii., 4: "Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood . . . made for the purpose." It was published soon after, dedicated to Dr. Duck. It is largely a very practical discourse on preaching, working out with subtlety and elaboration the figure of a pen and its use, but he touches upon other points. "If superstition made our adversaries too careful and bountiful, profaneness and atheism hath made us too careless. The ruins of God's house, the dust and cobwebs with which our churches were behung, before authority (like the good housewife in the parable) sent a broom, sufficiently confirmed this. God holds Himself contemned when His churches are defaced and His utensils not decently preserved." "*Made for the purpose.* And yet no command for it, nor for any of those solemnities used after, in Moses' Law. So then, mere human inventions in the circumstantial of God's worship are not therefore unlawful, unless in some other respect some sinfulness be found in them . . ." "If you ask me the reason why in so many churches, where there are fair pulpits, there are no better pulpit-men, I must tell you, corrupt patrons are in greatest fault . . . Present not

wooden priests, to make yourselves golden patrons. Respect no gift of gold for the furnishing of your cupboards, but gifts of grace for the furnishing of the pulpit. Remember if the nurse wants bread, the child wants milk ; both cry, both are heard ; woe to that man that hath the cry of souls against him.”

“ Ministers, gentlemen and others should not for favour nor by-respects be too liberal of their hands in giving testimonial of any, whom they either know not, or else not to be well deserving.”

Near the end, speaking of the importance of catechizing : “ Look on him that preacheth twice or thrice a week, and so hath continued for many years together, omitting catechizing of his people, and tell me if he hath reaped so much fruit of his long labours, as some one hath done of one year’s pains who hath joined both together.”

The whole sermon is suited to the occasion, and worthy of the man. But it was criticised and misrepresented ; Rogers published it that it might speak for itself.

Our great source of information of this Visitation is a letter from Henry Jacie (Jessey) then chaplain to Mr. Brampton Gurdon of Assington, to John Winthrop, published in the Massachusetts Historical Society’s Collections, Vol. xxi (Third Series), Vol. ii., dated Jan. 9th, 1631-2.

“ The plague having been lately at Colchester, the bishop’s visit was *propria persona* at Kelvedon, where with much gravity and severity he inveighed against the pride in the ministry, that they must have their plush and satin, and their silken cassocks, and their band-strings with knops ; if every knot had a bell at it it would be a goodly show ; saying, if any would inform him of abuses in the ministry by drinking, etc., he would severely censure them. Mr. Cook there, being commanded to attend him in his chamber got a black riband to his ruff, which he so played on, “ O what a show it would make if it were of carnation or purple, etc. He was very pleasant thus sometimes. By both which he drew most people to admire and applaud his proceedings.

“ There he excommunicated Mr. Weld who had been suspended above a month, and requiring Mr. Rogers of Dedham to subscribe (no law nor canon so requires, I take it) he refused. He told how he had borne with him, and showed how he must needs suspend him if he reformed not, to do all according to canon—after a month to excommunicate him, and then after a month to deprive him of the ministry (so lying open also to a writ of excommunicato

capiendo) as was read in the canon. Mr. Rogers said, if he would rather now put him by for altogether. He said, No, he would proceed according to law. So suspended him. Mr. Shepherd he charged to be gone out of his diocese, as one that kept conventicles.

“Colchester men would have had his admission of Mr. Bridges of Emmanuel for the Lecture in Mr. Maiden’s place. He was angry and said : “When you want one, you must go first to Dr. Gouge and to Dr. Sibs, and then you come to me ; I scorn to be so used. I’ll never have him to lecture in my diocese that will spew in the pulpit. (It seems he had preached on this : ‘I will spew thee out of my mouth.’)”

“At Braintree (whither he went thence) Mr. Wharton, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Bruer, and others were spoken to, after the bishop had looked in his book, opening it before them. He first commended them for their parts and pains and their lives and then charged them with nonconformity. All denied it. Mr. Marshall said he was misinformed. Aye, said he, but do you conform always ? He answered, he did sometimes but not always. He was much employed in preaching and catechizing the youth. The bishop answered, Your preaching I like well and your catechizing wondrous well ; but I mislike your answers (which he spoke angrily). You wear the surplice sometimes, and then you lay it aside from you for a long time, and what say your people then ?

“These good men cannot abide these ceremonies, and if they might they would never use them. But to avoid the persecutions of these bishops, that would fetch them up to the High Commission, therefore these good men are fain to stoop to them sometimes. Thus they will say, etc. So enjoining them to conform and seek the peace of the church, they escaped. Mr. Car of Twinsted being called, Mr. Allen stood up and said (trembling as he spoke, as he did at Bury, when he informed against his Sudbury people, sitting with heels as high as their heads) that many of the people of Sudbury were entertained by him. The bishop took him up therefore sharply, if he admitted any to the communion not of his own parish ; or if any such came to hear him, and he forbade them not, he would take a course with him. . . .

“Mr. Nat. Ward being called, whose silencing was expected, and charged with rejecting the ceremonies and Common Prayer-book, he answered (as ’tis said), There is one thing I confess I stick at, how I may say for any that die *In sure and certain hope*, or *We, with this our brother*, etc. Upon this the bishop to resolve him made a large explication, and so he escaped then.

“ Mr. Weld, after excommunication, coming into a church where the bishop was visiting, the bishop spied him and called him and asked him if he were on this side New England, and then if he were not excommunicated? He said, Yes. And why here, then? He hoped he had not offended. But he would make him an example to all such. Take him, pursuivant. The pursuivant called Mr. Shepherd and said he would rather have Shepherd; but he escaped and Mr. Weld by a bond of one hundred marks—others bound with him—and so fled to Bergen. Either he, or Mr. Hooker was abated £40 in the forfeiture. . . .”

“ Mr. Bruer the last term had twenty-two articles against him, and since seven additional, these devised by John Allen, as Mr. Bruer’s late sexton confesseth in anguish of conscience.

In a letter a fortnight later (Jan. 23rd, 1631–2) Jacie adds :

“ Mr. Harrison of Sudbury molested by means of Mr. Allen ; Mr. Warren, Mr. Smith of Caundish, and Mr. Steward (the most favourable) sate in commission about him, and now by his conforming more than ever he did, he yet preacheth at Sudbury.”

Of the clergy mentioned in these letters, Nathaniel Ward was of Stondon Massey ; Thomas Weld of Terling ; Samuel Wharton of Felsted ; Stephen Marshall of Finchingfield ; Edmund Brewer of Castle Hedingham. Of the Commissioners in the last letter, Robert Warren was of Borley, Rowland Steward of Alphamstone ; both had their livings sequestered twelve years later.

It is sufficiently clear that Laud regarded Weld and his pupil Shepherd as hopeless cases. Both went to New England, from whence Weld returned under the Long Parliament, becoming Vicar of Gateshead. Laud had hopes of the rest, and desired to retain them if possible ; in this he succeeded with all except Ward, deprived next year. He did not undervalue the good work they were doing. He had previously taken pains with Weld. He records that on Dec. 28th, 1643, Weld, having returned from New England, came to him in the Tower and in a boisterous manner demanded whether he had repented. At first he failed to remember him, but afterwards called the case to mind, and what care he had taken in conference with him, endeavouring to recall him from his turbulent way. “ And now he inferred out of the good words I then gave him that I suspended him against my conscience. He told me that I went about to bring Popery into the Kingdom, and he hoped I should have my reward for it . . . I told him that he and his fellows, what by their ignorance, what by their railing and other boisterous carriage, would soon actually make more Papists by far

than ever I intended ; and that I was a better Protestant than he or any of his fellows." Previously he records that he had heard that Wells (Weld) and Peters were behind the proposal to send him and Wren to New England, and that Wells offered wagers of it. (Troubles and Tryall, Ch. XX, XVII.)

It would appear from Shepherd's account (below) that Weld and he went to Dunmow to give the bishop a check—but he was too quick for them.

It is to this period, 1631, that Quarles' lines, "To them that deserve it," belong (quoted under Elizabeth).

Shepherd gives a vivid account of this Visitation, so far as he himself was concerned. "He cited me to appear before him at the court at Keldon [Kelvedon] ; where I appearing, he asked me what I did in the place, and I told him I studied. He asked me, What ? I told him, The Fathers. He replied I might thank him for that ; yet charged me to depart the place. I asked him, Whither should I go ? To the University, said he. I told him I had no means to subsist there. Yet he charged me to depart the place.

I did not choose to stir till the Bishop turned me out of this place. For the Bishop having thus charged me to depart, and being two days after to visit at Dunmow . . . Mr. Weld, Mr. Daniel Rogers, Mr. Ward, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Wharton, consulted together whether it was best to let such a swine to root up God's plants in Essex and not to give him a check. Whereupon it was agreed upon privately at Braintree that some should speak to him and give him a check. . . . When we came to the church, Mr. Weld stood and heard without, being excommunicated by him ; I being more free, went within. And after service Mr. Weld went up to hear the Bishop's speech ; and being seen to follow the Bishop, the first thing he did was to examine Mr. Weld, what he did to follow him and to stand upon holy ground. Thereupon he was committed to the pursuivant, and bound over to answer it at the High Commission. But when Mr. Weld was pleading for himself, and that it was ignorance that made him come in, the Bishop asked him whither he intended to go, whether to New England, and if so whether I would go with him. While he was thus speaking, I came into the church and heard the words. Others bid me go away. But neglecting to do it, a godly man pulled me away with violence out of the crowd ; and as soon as ever I was gone, the apparitor calls for Mr. Shepherd and the pursuivant was sent presently after to find me. But he that pulled me away, Mr.

Holbeach by name, a schoolmaster at Felsted in Essex, hastened our horses and away we rid as fast as we could ; and so the Lord delivered me out of the mouth of that lion a third time."

Here may be placed such parts of Laud's annual accounts to the King as relate to Essex.

1633. "Having heretofore after long patience and often conference proceeded against Nathaniel Ward, parson of Stondon in Essex, to excommunication and deprivation, for refusing to subscribe to the articles established by the canon of the Church (of which I certified the last year) I have now left him still under the censure of excommunication.

I did likewise convent Mr. John Beedle, Rector of Barnston in Essex, for omitting some parts of Divine Service, and refusing conformity. But upon his submission and promise of reformation, I dismissed him with a Canonical Admonition only.

1634. In the Bishop of London's Visitation he found divers complaints about inconforming to the church discipline ; but the proofs came home only against four, three curates and a vicar. (The rest submitted, but) the third curate, one Philip Saunders of Hutton in Essex, being refractory was suspended ; and hath since forsaken the diocese. It seems he means to settle himself when he may hope to find more favour. [He had returned by 1637].

1635. There was likewise convented Mr. Sparrowhawke, Curate and Lecturer at St. Mary Woolchurch, for preaching against the Canon for bowing at the Name of Jesus ; who, because he wilfully persisted, is suspended from preaching in that Diocese. [A Coggeshall man—see later.]

1636. Mr. Wharton, a minister in Essex . . . in a sermon at Chelmsford uttered many unfit and some scurrilous things ; but for this he hath been convented, and received a Canonical Admonition. And upon his sorrow and submission any further censure is forborne." [Presumably Samuel Wharton of Felsted, rather than Ralph Wharton of Inworth.]

It would seem that the only *incumbents* deprived by Laud were Weld and Ward. It does not appear that Juxon deprived any. The trouble was much more with curates and lecturers. The idea is generally held that the High Commission Court did little but coerce Puritans. But its surviving records show that this was but a small part of its activities. There were many matrimonial cases ; cases of simony ; cases of immorality on the part of laity as well as clergy. A few cases of about 1635 may be mentioned.

There was a prolonged case against Robert Cooke of Feering, lay rector of Marks Tey. Having bought the tithes, he claimed to appoint the curate there, setting aside Henry Golding, who had been put in by the previous tithe-owner, and licensed by the Bishop. He was ordered to pay Golding the arrears (£20 per annum) for the last four years, and £20 per annum henceforth; and to suffer him to enjoy his allowance of small tithes. But there was much difficulty in enforcing this; Cooke had to be committed to the Fleet.

There was a charge, apparently of simony, against Thurman of Great Hallingbury and one of adultery against Grant of Walthamstow. Both ran on for months, but we have no clear record of the result; both kept their livings.

There were charges of adultery against Francis Wright of Witham, and of drunkenness and adultery against William Frost of Middleton. The drunkenness was proved, and Frost punished by suspension; the adultery was not proved, and he was allowed to purge himself. The practice of the ecclesiastical courts was that when charges were neither clearly proved nor disproved the accused was allowed to take his oath that he had not committed the offence; if he could find a number of others to take their oath that they believed him, he was acquitted. So notice was given in Middleton church that Frost, charged with incest and adultery, and having denied it, was to make purgation and find eight compurgators, beneficed men of his own rank. He did so, his compurgators being Henry Glover of Lamarsh, Charles Forbench of Henny, Lake of Saling Magna, Jenkinson of Panfield, Pratt of Lindsell, Moore of Braughing, Atkins of Kensington, and Eglington of Feltham. Wright also purged himself, his compurgators being Thomas Stephens, Israel Edwards, Thomas Hagger, John Woolhouse, Robert Senior and Joseph Bird, all beneficed men of Essex.

Some of the above were dead or gone before the Troubles; but the following were themselves sequestered as well as Frost and Wright, usually on moral charges: Woolhouse of West Mersea; Senior of Feering; Bird of Belchamp Otten; Forbench of Henny; Lake of Saling; Jenkinson of Panfield. The only Essex compurgators who kept their livings were Israel Edwards of East Mersea (only till 1650) and Elisha Pratt of Lindsell. One suspects that some of the rest were "birds of a feather." In the depositions against Frost, January 1644-5, it was declared that most of his compurgators were sequestered or run away.

In the early part of 1637 the "Metropolitical Visitation" of

the Diocese of London were held by the Archbishop's Vicar-General, Sir Nathaniel Brent. In preparation for this Laud sent him a paper containing informations about certain clergy, which were to be carefully investigated (State Papers Domestic, 339,53). [Brent has inserted briefly the result of his inquiries; I omit these, as given more fully later.] The Essex part is as follows:

Mr. Mosse (Morse) of Rumford omits parts of Divine Service, constantly wears not the surplice, gives the Communion to persons sitting, and delivers not the Cup severally to every communicant as the 21st Canon enjoins. Testis, Mr. Elborough of St. Pancras.

Mr. Newton of Little Baddow omitteth the blessed Name of Jesus wheresoever he meeteth it in reading of the second lesson. Testis, Mr. Hooke, the parson of Great (or Little) Baddow.

Mr. Marshall of Finchingfield in Essex, omitteth the blessed Name of Jesus whensoever he speaketh or readeth the Blessing, saying thus "The grace of our Lord and Saviour, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost. . . ."

Mr. Haxby of Erikscone [Hawkesby of Earls Colne] christened Mr. Harlacendine's child without the sign of the Cross. Testis Mr. Wiborough, parson in Essex.

Mr. Brewer of Henningham [Hedingham] usually omitteth the sign of the Cross in Baptism. Testes, Mr. Wiborough, Goodman Chote, and Mrs. Alleston [?].

The same Mr. Brewer giveth the Holy Communion ordinarily to persons not kneeling; nay he sent magisterially to Mr. Chote curate now or lately of Pedmarsh, that he must give the Holy Communion to one William French (being scrupulous) sitting. Testes, Mr. Wiborough, Mr. Etheridge, beneficed in Essex, who knoweth much more of this man's irregularities.

Mr. Till, who lectureth at Gestrop and at Mount in Essex [Gestingthorpe and Mount Bures] is supposed not to be in Holy Orders; certain it is that he left Norwich diocese for his nonconformity.

Mr. Rogers of Messing desired an order for the setting up of a rail about the Communion Table in his church.

Mr. Parker, Vicar of Hatfield Regis, for giving the Holy Communion to non-parishioners.

Mr. Harrison, Lecturer in Sir Tho. Barrington's parish, prayed and preached four hours together. He is to appear at Starford.

Mr. Wharton, Vicar of Felsted, is to appear at Dunmow—in like case as Mr. Harrison.

(NOTES : Wiborough was Rector of Pebmarsh ; Etheredge of Halstead. The latter was gone before the Troubles, in which his successor, John Webbe, suffered. For Wiborough's sufferings see *Mercurius Rusticus* and Walker. It is strange that Hatfield was sequestered from Parker ; he may have been a pluralist, keeping another living.)

State Papers Domestic, Vol. 351, 100, gives Brent's " Accompt of the Metropolitcal Visitation of the Diocese of London, Anno 1636." The ministers specially noticed, besides those named in the above paper, which is constantly mentioned, are :

Dumville of Leyton.
 Sanders, previously suspended.
 Clopton of Ramsden Bellhouse.
 (King) of High Laver.
 Fenner of Rochford.
 South of Writtle.
 Prime of Sturmer.
 Sutton, Curate of Wethersfield.
 Sutcliffe of Prittlewell.

This account begins : " The ministers are generally conformable for their habit, only two or three very young men and about as many poor curates were faulty in that kind. They are now canonically admonished, and have promised a serious and a sudden reformation."

The part relating to Essex runs thus :

BURNTWOOD, FEB. ULT., 1636.

I examined Mr. Mosse of Rumford concerning divers inconformities mentioned in a paper which I received from your Grace. He confessed himself to have been faulty in former times, but protesteth that of late years he hath been very conformable, and vowed very seriously that he will always so continue hereafter. I could find no proofs of more than he confessed, and therefore I gave him a canonical admonition and so dismissed him.

I questioned for the like offence Mr. Dumville, minister of Leiton ; he denied all and said he was assured that no man would accuse him but one Johnson of that parish, who indeed was the man that gave me secret information of him, but was not willing to justify it openly. I have not dismissed him as yet, but have left him to a further enquiry.

One Mr. Sanders, whom your Grace suspended for inconformity when your Grace visited London diocese, lurketh about Burntwood

and it is thought doth much hurt among people inclined to faction. In case he could be apprehended, it were good (under favour) that he were questioned in the High Commission Court.

Mr. Clopton, Parson of Ramsden Bellowes (Belhouse) excused his absence by reason of sickness, which was testified by oath. A petition was given me after I parted thence against him ; which I have delivered to Mr. Dr. Aylett, who will certify the next term how true he findeth the suggestions to be. He is an enemy to perambulation.

The minister of High Laver who appeared at this place is an inconformable man, whereof I had no information until I came to Stortford. There is likewise in the parish one Sir Wm. Marzon [Masham], a very factious Puritan. I have intreated from Dr. Aylett (because myself was past the place) to inform himself concerning these two and certify the next term.

CHELMSFORD, MARCH 1.

Mr. Newton of Little Baddow (mentioned in the foresaid paper) confesseth he was inconformable before your Grace did visit as Bishop of London. But protesteth that he was then convinced and hath continued conformable ever since. It is generally believed in the Diocese by the better sort that by your Grace's strong persuasion and rigour mixed with mildness much reformation hath been wrought.

You then suspended two curates whose names I do not remember now. They wander up and down in these parts, as I am told, and do much hurt. No good course in mine opinion can be taken against them but in the High Commission Court. There is no other way to punish them sufficiently. I can easily learn their names, but I fear it will be hard to find the parties.

Mr. Fenner, Vicar of Rochford, a factious minister (as I am informed) should have appeared at this place. He absented himself, and his curate took his corporal oath that he was very sick and could not then appear without danger of his life.

Mr. South, Parson of Writtle, belonging to New College in Oxon, did not appear because of a great exemption that this parish pretends to have. I cited them again to appear at Braintree. They appeared *sub protestatione*. I accepted the appearance and rejected the protestation.

COLCHESTER, MARCH 3.

Mr. Hawkesley, Erlescombe [Hawkesbey of Earls Colne], (mentioned in the paper), confessed that sometimes he hath

administered the sacrament of Baptism without using the sign of Cross, and sometimes administered the Holy Eucharist to non-kneelants. The man is very old and weak ; he would have fallen down upon his knees but that I held him up ; he wept very much, and asked pardon, and vowed a constant conformity for hereafter. Upon the earnest entreaty of divers grave ministers who undertook for him, I freed him from the suspension which I had laid on him. Mr. Harlackinton, a layman, who was likewise charged with faction, for procuring the minister to christen his children without the sign of Cross, but cleared himself—neither were any of his children christened by him, as is protested by the minister and himself and divers others.

At this place I called before me the ministers and the chief elders of the Dutch Church, and laid upon them the injunctions as your Grace commanded, and required one of the registers to make a formal act of it ; I found them very ready to obey. The ministers are as conformable as any in the diocese, and they instruct their people accordingly. One of them is going about to translate our Book of Common Prayer into Dutch. I have persuaded them to use our Liturgy in their church and they seem not unwilling. I am confident it will be done if the motion is seconded in the Visitation of the next summer.

The Earl Rivers hath three parishes belonging to him exempted from the Bishop : Thorpe, Kirby, and Walton. His Lordship was very willing that the ministers and church officers should appear ; but they did not and are suspended, and I have given special order that the suspensions shall be sent out immediately.

Mr. Rogers of Messing (mentioned in your Grace's paper) came not to me for an order for the setting up of a rail about the Communion Table. But I gave a general order for it both there and in all other places where I passed.

One Cole of Colchester, a baker, is a great holder of conventicles and an assiduous preacher. He affirmeth that it is impiety to hinder any man from preaching to whom God hath given extraordinary understanding and the gift of utterance. He hath lurked in corners ever since the noise of this visitation ; but I hope that hereafter a pursuivant may find him.

KELVEDON, MARCH 4.

There was a very small attendance because few parishes were in that division. I could not find any great fault in this place,

which I think may be attributed to the care of Doctor Aylett, who dwelleth there. I humbly desire your Grace to take notice of it, and to encourage him as to your wisdom shall seem fittest.

Some ministers were questioned for their life ; especially one Mr. Wright who has been curate there and was dismissed. He did labour much to be restored. But I will not be moved to protect so debauched a man.

BRAINTREE, MARCH 6.

Mr. Marshall of Finchingfield (mentioned in the paper) is held to be a dangerous person, but exceeding cunning. No man doubteth but he hath an inconformable heart, but externally he observeth all. I could not prove upon him the omitting of the blessed Name of Jesus (as expressed in the paper) nor anything else concerning the ceremonies of the Church. It is fit in mine opinion that Mr. Chancellor of London should have a watchful eye over him, in regard he governeth the consciences of all the rich Puritans in those parts and in many places far remote, and is grown very rich. In the search of Doctor Stowton's study some of his letters were found. He confesseth that the Lady Barnardiston gave two hundred pounds to be bestowed by his direction, whereof I was admonished by Mr. Nevill of Cressing Temple. Of this sum he gave £150. (as he saith) to one Mr. Duraeus, who is said to labour in making a pacification between the Calvinists and the Lutherans ; which business, if any such be in agitation, I suppose your Grace better understandeth than myself. (Note by Laud in margin : Q. of Mr. Durye.) The other £50. as himself told me, he consented that it should be given to one Mr. Anthony Thomas, who lectureth in Wales and preacheth in the Welsh tongue, of which he saith there is great necessity. I dismissed him with as many admonitions as I thought fit, and he promised obedience in the highest degree. Yet I fear it will be but superficial.

Mr. Bruer of Henningham (whom your Grace's paper mentioneth) hath been a very inconformable man. He hath often omitted the sign of the Cross in Baptism, weareth the surplice but sometimes, and never refused to give the blessed sacrament of the Eucharist to those that kneeled not. He acknowledged all this and professed his hearty sorrow for it, protesting that he was now convinced in his conscience, and promising in verbo sacerdotis that for the future he will be as conformable as any. I held him suspended until I was ready to part from Braintree. Then I changed his

suspension into a canonical admonition at the entreaty of Mr. Dr. Barkham and other grave ministers there.

Mr. Till, Lecturer at Gestrop and Munt [Gestingthorpe and Mount Bures], (named in the paper), is deacon, not priest. He is a blind man. I have inhibited him to preach until he can obtain a license from his Ordinary.

Mr. Dampart hath lately been in these parts, and at Hackney not long since. I am told that he goeth in grey like a country gentleman.

DUNMOW, MARCH 7.

Here I questioned one Mr. Prime, Rector of Sturmer, for not saying "the seventh day" but "the Sabbath day" in reading of the Fourth Commandment. But if he read no otherwise than he confessed (and more than that I could not prove) he read according to the translation of our late Sovereign King James. He was accused likewise for preaching against bowing at the blessed Name of Jesus. Mr. Elborough told me that a son-in-law of his could justify it upon oath. He strongly denied it, and nobody was present to testify against him. Because the relaxation cometh so fast I had no time to examine the business. But Mr. Chancellor of London may do it the next summer when he visiteth.

I questioned likewise Mr. Wharton, Vicar of Felsted, Mr. Sutton, Curate of Wethersfield, and Mr. Sutcliffe, of Prittlewell in Rochford Hundred, and some others, for the like inconformity, but I could not prove. Many gave me secret information, which could not be induced to justify anything. Mr. Wharton protested that your Grace's Visitation when you were Bishop of London had absolutely reformed him.

BISHOP STORTFORD, MARCH 8.

[The first part of the report is about three peculiars of St. Paul's;—Brent Pelham: Furneaux Pelham: and Albury.]

In this town is a very well ordered private school. The scholars stood all in a row as I came to Church and gave me verses, and afterwards were very diligent in noting of the sermon. I do the rather mention it because I saw no such school in my whole journey.

Mr. Parker, Vicar of Hatfield Regis, confesseth that heretofore he hath given the blessed sacrament to some of his parish who kneeled not, but still laboured to persuade them to kneel, and hath reduced them almost all. He is now admonished and promiseth not to do the like hereafter.

One Mr. Harrison, a lecturer where Sir Thos. Barrington dwelleth, prayed and preached above three hours in the time of the fast, and curtailed the prayers set out by authority. He is a very old man, and seemed to be very sorry for what he had done. He scaped with an admonition, because divers did testify that he was very conformable.

[The rest of the report is taken up with cases in Middlesex and London.]

The impression left by this report is that the Laudian policy had succeeded well, at least as regards outward conformity. On the other hand, Stephen Marshall was probably not the only one with "an inconformable heart"; the reformation since Laud's visitation as Bishop of London may not have sprung so much from inward conviction as was alleged. The failure of witnesses to come forward is capable of a double interpretation; either they had privately brought charges from hearsay or raked up things of the past, or else they shrank from incurring unpopularity by coming forward in court.

The existence of underlying dissatisfaction appears in a letter from Dr. Aylett to Sir John Lambe, dated Feering, March 21, 1636-7; *i.e.*, between the Visitation in Essex and Brent's report of it. (S.P.D., 350, 54.)

"You shall see by these enclosed notes that Mr. Vicar-General was no sooner gone out of the country but one sets up to confute what he had delivered. This Sparhawke heard him on Saturday at Kelvedon or on Monday at Braintree, and on Tuesday preacheth against him at Coggeshall. This Sparhawke is neither licensed preacher nor curate, but (as I am informed) a suspended minister, and hath maintained conventicles at Coggeshall, where they refuse both the first and the second payment for ship-money, nor will yet be brought by the sheriff to make a rate. . . . If you will think of a course to send them a messenger with directions to search his and some other studies, of which I will inform you by the next, no doubt but many practices will be discovered, not against the Church alone; but the best way were a letter from a Secretary of State by a messenger to Sir Thomas Wiseman, Mr. Henry Nevill, and such others as they will assume into their company; if I be called my service shall not be wanting." (What follows was written after an interval.) "The studies to be searched: Mr. John Dod, Vicar of Coggeshall; Mr. Nehemiah Dod, his son and

curate ; Mr. Brewers, curate of Hedningham Castle ; Mr. Edw. Sparhawke, now resident in Coggeshall ; Robert Crane, who married Sparhawke's sister ; John Sparhawke, brother to this Edward. I have these notes from one Durden, schoolmaster of Coggeshall, a senior bachelor. Mr. Nevile next week goes into Leicestershire, and if he be gone we have no so forward and entire a man, and therefore I could wish some haste. . . ."

After the sermon-notes follows : " This Edward Sparhawke has been suspended, as I have heard, in the diocese of Norwich, and since hath been lecturer in Woolchurch in London, and is there suspended, from whence he came to Coggeshall, where he fell to conventicling ; and now thinking all is forgotten falls to preaching in Coggeshall, as you see, and as I am informed in Stisted, Dr. Barkham's jurisdiction. The registry of Consistory can show his suspension. Howsoever he is unlicensed and showed himself at our visitation out of his clerical habit."

The notes—a large page—are those " of a christening sermon preached by Mr. Sparrock at Coggeshall, 7 March." His text was Jeremiah VIII, 20 : " The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved." " The saints of God may be in calamity and expect delivery, and yet the hope of salvation may be frustrated." The calamity in view is mainly the continuance of the plague, but the heavy taxation is also mentioned. But the sting of the sermon in the minds of the authorities would be, " We do not search out the true causes ; our Altars and such superstitious adoration, bowing at names and such new idolatrous mixtures of religion, and the treading down of God's people ; and until those causes cease, the Plague will not cease ! " Also, " the infraction of the Lord's Day authorized by imprint."

A note in the margin adds, " Mr. Dod the elder upon the 9th day of November 1635 said he thought in his conscience that the plague of God was in the land for the new mixture of religion that is commanded in the Church."

NOTE ON (1) Edward Sparhawke (Sparrowhawke).

His suspension at St. Mary Woolchurch in 1635 is noted in Laud's *Troubles and Tryall*, p. 536. He was of Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1621-2, M.A. 1625. In October 1643 he was put into the sequestration of Black Notley (C.J. III, 270), where he continued till the Restoration. In June 1669 he was living at Boreham, when his son Samuel, born at Black Notley, educated at Felsted, was admitted at Caius College, Cambridge, aet. 17.

Buften's diary records: "Old Mr. Sparhawke, minister, was buried Sept. 7, 1678. He lived within five miles of Colchester." (ap. Dale, *Annals of Coggeshall*, 264.)

(2) Nehemiah Dod was subsequently minister of Knightsbridge (in 1640), Havering (1644-6), and Doddinghurst (1646-52).

(3) Philip Sanders (Sidney College, Cambridge; B.A. 1605-6) was curate of Cranham in 1610; of Hutton in 1622, when he married; and still there in 1634 when suspended by Juxon. He left the diocese, but must soon have come back. He obtained the sequestration of Magdalen Laver, apparently in 1644, and held it till his death in 1652.

Laud's subsequent reports to the King include a few Essex cases:

1637. (The Bishop of London) complains of some inconformable men which his Chancellor hath met with in this his last Visitation; but they have received such censure as their faults deserved, or else submitted themselves. Only Mr. John Knolles, a lecturer at Colchester, had forborn to receive the Holy Communion for two years since he came to be lecturer; and being enjoined to perform that duty within a month, he was so zealous, as that he forsook lecture and town and all rather than he would receive the Communion. I find likewise in this account 28 ministers convented before the Chancellor for some inconformities, and five for excessive drinking. But there is a good order taken with them as could be. The lectures in this diocese continue many, but there is great care taken to keep them in order.

[This account, of course, includes the whole of the diocese, but there are probably Essex cases included.]

1638. There is one Bedle, a minister of Essex, came into [Canterbury] diocese, and at Harbledown, near Canterbury (the curate there being dead) preached very disorderly three hours together at a time, and got himself many ignorant followers. But as soon as ever he was enquired after by my officers, he fled the country; and I purpose, God willing, to speak with the Chancellor of London concerning him.

1639. There was about half a year since one that pretended himself a minister, who got many followers in Sandwich and some neighbouring parishes; but at last was found to have gone under three names, Enoch, Swann, and Grey; and in as many habits, of a minister, an ordinary layman, and a royster. And this being discovered, he fled the country before any of my officers could lay hold on him.

[This must be Enoch Grey, suspended for unsound doctrine by the Bishop of Norwich in 1634. He was minister of Wickham Bishops, 1644-58. We have an account from the other side of his adventures in Kent (Newes from Canterburie, 1644: ap. Davids, 487). "About five years since, the Dean of Canterbury hearing that one Mr. Gray, a godly and able minister now living in Essex, had preached against the prelate's popish proceeding. . . . Sabbath morning rode out to find him, and hunted . . . from parish to parish; at last towards night, he came to Sandwich where he had almost caught the game. . . . But the Gray was crept through . . . whereupon the dean caused the town gates to be shut, and watchmen were set with halberds at every corner; but the preacher escaped them all, having on a coloured suit . . . and so to London."

Many records are in existence of the courts of the Bishop's Commissary (Dr. Aylett) and of the Archdeacons, between 1636 and 1640. But as usual, apart from wills and the like, the great majority of cases are either of immorality, or of brawling in church or churchyard, or of working on the Lord's Day, and so on.

There are several cases of neglect of duty by clergy. Thus Daniel Durden of North Benfleet was charged with having had no service for three Sundays together—Oct. 25, Nov. 1 and 8, 1635, nor on the Fifth of November. He pleaded that he had a curate there and did not know of the neglect; and was discharged on payment of fees, 2/6. There are a whole series of such complaints against Thomas Stevens of Shopland and afterwards of South Hanningfield.

In November 1637 James Huddleston of East Tilbury was presented because (1) on many Sundays and holy days there had been no service; (2) being non-resident and not having a learned curate, the sick are not visited nor women churched in proper form and manner. He was suspended, but discharged in a few days with an admonition.

Laymen are occasionally charged with absence from church, not kneeling at the Commandments, not bowing at the name of Jesus. [*E.g.*, on 2 May, 1638 there are a number of such cases at Ingatestone.] Also women are presented for not wearing a veil or linen kerchief when coming to be churched; (*e.g.*, Mary Judd of Harvard Stock, 14 July, 1637.)

A curious case is that of Philip Searle of Rochford, charged

with working upon the Communion Table. He pleaded that the Communion Table stood in the vestry and that he, a stranger and newly come, being a glazier, did work upon it for the putting in of one pane of glass and no more (22 August, 1638 ; paid fees, 1[/]8.)

Susan Cook of Little Baddow was charged in July 1636 with laying her linen in the church to dry ; when Mr. Newton, the minister, remonstrated, she said she might lay her rags there as well as the surplice, and bade him do his worst. She was suspended from entering the church. Her daughter Ann had said to Mr. Newton, " It were a good turn if he were hanged up there."

We find hardly any notices about railing off the Table at the East End ; this had probably been done generally in accordance with the orders given at the Metropolitan and Bishop's Visitation in 1637. We have orders for it at Great Baddow (Sept. 1636) and Great Burstead (May 1637).

The greatest charges of "inconformity" in the Archdeaconry of Essex were against Israel Hewitt, Vicar of All Saints, Maldon. On 2 May, 1638 it was declared that he did not at all times this year observe all the rites and ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer. He admitted that he had haply omitted at some time some rite or ceremony of the Church, but not since the Bishop of London's Visitation when he had been questioned for the same. He was admonished, but dismissed on paying fees, 6[/]8. He was also charged with delivering the Holy Communion to two women who stood when they took it, 1 April 1638 ; he admitted this and was discharged with an admonition. He was also charged with sometimes failing to wear the surplice ; he pleaded that this had happened on a Friday about Christmas, when the surplice " was a washing." He was dismissed with an admonition. Many of his parishioners were also charged with absence from church or with inconformity.

In November, 1639 he was charged with coming out of the rail to administer the Communion to Thomas Plumbe, gent. He admitted the offence, and was admonished and discharged on paying fees, 2[/]8.

In June 1637 two Chingford men were admonished for sleeping in service and sermon time ; in May 1638 a large number there were charged with being absent from church on Holy Thursday ; and so not joining the perambulation. They pleaded that no notice had been given of the perambulation.

It is clear that the ordinary ecclesiastical courts—at least those of the Archdeacon of Essex—were not very severe. Apart

from moral cases, it was common to discharge upon payment of fees, perhaps with an admonition. It was the High Commission Court the Puritan ministers feared; see Jacie's explanation why Marshall, Wharton, and others conformed so far as they did. Apart from records of actual cases (such as that of Samuel Ward of Ipswich) we can see the reputation this court enjoyed. Weld and Hooker chose to forfeit their bail and flee abroad rather than fall into the hands of the High Commission.

D. THE COMMUNION TABLE.

The position of the Communion Table—as it was almost universally called—was a great subject of controversy under Charles I. The Injunctions of Elizabeth ordered it to be set where the altar stood, except “when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed,” when it should be placed in a convenient part of the chancel, but replaced after the Communion. But in practice, while in cathedrals it was kept permanently at the East end, in parish churches it was commonly left always in the middle of the chancel, or elsewhere, and was hence exposed to desecration. The Privy Council in 1633, in the case of St. Gregory by St. Paul, laid down that the Ordinary (in this case, the Dean and Chapter, but more commonly the Bishop) was the sole judge of its right position. On the strength of this, Laud in 1635 ordered Sir Nathaniel Brent, his Vicar-General, to direct that the Holy Table should in all churches be moved to the East end and be railed in. (Gee and Hardy; *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, 440, 533.) Wren gave similar orders at his primary visitation of Norwich Diocese, 1636.

In Essex, Dr. Robert Aylett, writing on 29 June 1636 to Sir John Lambe, mentions first the action of Mr. Symes, a Scotsman, minister of Leigh, who kept a solemn fast in his church on Wednesday in Ascension week, when and where the people remained all day in the church, fasting and praying and Mr. Symes preaching. He continues: “I have caused many of the Communion Tables within my officialty [Colchester] to be railed in, and the people to come up to receive at the rail, though with much opposition, especially in great clothing towns, because they see no such thing, they say, in the churches in London. But since the article books for the metropolitical visitation are delivered, they have found an article which as they conceive gives them leave to remove their table at the time of the celebration, and place it as may be most convenient for the parishioners to come about it and receive,

which in some places where the minister is willing to please his people undoes all that I have done, and lays on me an imputation as if it were mine own invention, crossing the articles delivered by his grace's visitor on his several visitations. For this I humbly desire to know his grace's pleasure, and your best directions." (S.P.D., 327, 101).

But whatever the ambiguity, it did not amount to much. Brent gave at his visitation in Essex, 1636-7, a general order for the setting up of a rail round the Communion Table. This was largely but not universally obeyed. We have the Churchwarden's account at Chingford, when the parishioners thought him to have been extravagant. But it was necessary in a number of parishes to repeat the order for railing in at the Bishop of London's Visitation a few months later (*e.g.*, in Ongar Deanery, at High and Magdalen Laver, Norton Mandeville, Shelley, Stapleford Abbots; also Epping—to be done by 2 Nov.—and Grays Thurrock).

At Chingford, the Communion Table was duly railed in 1636-7 and the chancel newly tiled. But the parish thought the churchwarden had been extravagant, and had not had a proper estimate; also that the Rector ought to pay half the expenses of the tiling of the chancel. The account is found among the State Papers, Vol. 375, No. 83.

"The Account of John Burnett, Churchwarden of the Parish of Chingford, for his expenses about the Church and Chancell; for bread and wyne for the communion, for the maimed souldiers and for a new Communion table and for rayles and Barresters, from Easter 1636 until the fiveth of June 1637:

Imprimis for his Oath, two books for the fast and charges at the two visitacons,	10	8
And for a latch for the Church gate, for whipping the doggs out of the Church, for glasing windows and for the Paritors ffee,	4	7
Item, to the maymed souldiers and for searching a dead corpse,	16	2
Item, for bread and wine spent at Communion,	2	0 3
Item, for a peece of tymber used about setting the Communion table,	10	0
Item, payd for a new Communion table,	2	0 0
Item, for Rayles, Ironworks, and 2 deales and setting upp,	5	3 0
Item, for Tyles and Carriage and for lime and sand,	2	5 6
Item, to the Bricklayer and labourer for laying ye tyles in the Chancell,	11	6
Item, for fetching the tyles and Rayles from London,	4	0
Item, to the Bricklayer for a day's work about the Church,		
5 Junii,	1	0
Summa,	14	6 8

The exceptions to the Account by the Parish :—

first, for the Communion table and Rayles he bought without Advising with the parish, and being surveyed by Workemen they give under their hands that the table which he gives in the cost XLs is too deare by Xs.

That the Rayles which he gives in with two deales unspent to cost VI.iiis. that they are to deere by XXXVI.iiid.

The expence for Tyles lyme and sand and workmanshipp was as well for beautifying the Chancell as to erecte ye Table, and ye bigger halfe of the Chancell is without the Rayles and ought to be done at the Parson's Chardge—the moytie of which charge comes to XXVIII.vid.

3. 14. 10.

Soe the rest of his Account allowed, and allowing him . . . and the two deales unspent for setting up the Rayles, the remainder for which a rate is made comes to,

10. 11. 10.

	Robert Leigh.	John Young.	The mark of
The mark of	Francis Tavenor.	John Gladwin.	Edmund Tewe
	John Burton.	Robert Snell.	Tho. Gondrey.
	Robert Sawyer.	Francis Hopton.	Walter Searle.
			William Dobson.

(All these are shown by the Ship-money Book to be substantial ratepayers at Chingford, Leigh and Burton being rated highest in the parish.)

(" *Barrester* " or " *barrister* " in this sense is an old variant for *baluster* or *banister*. The Oxford Dictionary quotes Fuller's *Worthies*, 1662.)

We read of more trouble at Colchester. When the Long Parliament met a petition was received from Mary, widow of James Wheeler, churchwarden of St. Botolph's in 1635. He was ordered by Dr. Aylett, the Commissary, to rail in the Communion Table. He refused, unless Dr. Aylett would save him harmless. For this refusal he was twice excommunicated, and then the High Commission Court sent a messenger named Stockdale to apprehend him. Stockdale sought the help of the Mayor, Robert Buxton, who caused Wheeler's house to be broken up and ransacked, and later on, without a warrant, caused the constables to make a second search. Wheeler made his escape, but two of his children were carried before the Mayor, and imprisoned for three days and nights before being released on bail. Wheeler was driven from his calling, whereby he maintained himself and family; imprisoned for three years and forced to flee abroad, where he died, leaving his family ruined. The Lords, considering this petition and holding there to be no ground in law to warrant or compel the railing off of the Communion table, ordered Aylett and Buxton to pay damages.

(Lords' Journal IV, 156; 9 Feb. 1640-1.) The surviving records of the High Commission throw no light on this case.

Rather earlier, calendared as of 1632, are some scurrilous verses, " A Gaynst the parson or priest of St. Nicholasses in Colchester " (probably Theophilus Roberts, instituted 1619, still here 1629; to Berechurch 1633); State Papers Domestic, 229, 123. I give this curious though very prejudiced paper with spelling and capitals largely re-written and modernised :

The Complaint which I have in hand
Is of our parish Tutor
Because with Bonner he is turned
To be a persecutor.

Or else with " Jewlieas " he is turned
To be a false backslider;
Which makes infer with him he shall
In hell for ever lie there.

I do not mean that he is fallen
From the true grace of God;
For certainly I do believe
That it he never had.

But I do mean of that false show
Which once of love he made;
But now of envy, malice, spleen,
He makes a common trade.

The reason why is only this:
His parish would not yield
That he a foolish rail might not
About the Table build.

They asked him the reason why
That he would needs have this:
His answer was, Because the dogs
Against it should not piss.

But to bring his intent to pass
He knew not who to get;
Till a Pinner and a greasy Cooke
At last his mind did fitt,

And built a pound yea out of hand
For to fulfil his will;
And some time like an ass he stands
Therein against our will.

And now all those who will not pay
To building of the same
Then unto Doctor Aylett's court
He will return their name,

And there against them shall be brought
A bill of excommunication ;
The which doth make me think a thought
T'will increase his damnation.

And truly I could well awecht
That more would him withstood ;
For why by their example then
They might 'a done much good.

And herein two I aim to praise
Which do withstand him still,
And had they purses for their cause
Of him they'd have their will.

And one thing more of him I'll speak,
Which is of his great gains.
When as he works to noe effect
And much less is his pains.

For why he is an idle drone ;
Tis pity he is not cast out ;
Yea a dumb dog and but once a month
A little he then barks out.

And then, alas, to no effect ;
He doth not please me well ;
For much ado he hath even then
His hour glass to fill.

Yea in a circle he doth go
In manner like the sun ;
And in a year with much ado
In circle he can run.

And thus he goeth from text to text
Till he comes to the latter ;
But choose for him another text
He would make but simple matter.

Or like a cart-wheel he goeth round
Or like the horse in mill ;
And once a month enough he thinks
The year up for the fill.

And thus with the false steward he
Will not employ his talent.
But yet among the courtly knaves
He is counted a great gallant.

And thus I have of our parson
Spoke nothing but that's true ;
But as I have a soul to save
I've not given him half his due.

And yet, alas, others there be
 In town as bad as he,
 And in their devilish practices
 Are equal in degree.

And now because I would not have
 You ignorant of those,
 Their names I will in number four
 Here unto you disclose.

And now with "Aieres" I'll begin
 For antiquity sake;
 And if times of Popery shall come
 A dainty Friar he would make.

And next to him is "Honnifowld"
 Who in men's mouths is bought and sold;
 He also here shall be enrolled,
 And shall for a knave with the rest be told.

For although a scholar great he be,
 And also a divine,
 Yet better he loves a pretty wench,
 And also a cup of wine.

The third as here I do suppose
 Is Newcomman; that man
 I'll need not much of him disclose
 Because his actions can.

For he a brother with the rest
 Is in that which is evil;
 And truly take him at the best
 He is one as bad's the devil.

The last of all is he of whom
 My book here is recorder.
 And as a knave I'll set him down
 Here with the rest in order.

And thus you see four clergy knaves
 Together all compact;
 And still they do continually
 In the devil's service act.

(On last page)

be me, Feeth John.

ffeth John,

And now that you do know my name
 For this do not another blame;
 But lay the saddle on the right horse,
 Or else you will prove yourself an ass.

I pray by the way do this observe
 That of you I'd speak better if you did it deserve ;
 My pen now having taken her flight
 I am first to mend her, and no more tonight.

Dated the 6 day of Joulye 1875 (*sic*).

The three other clergy named are WILLIAM EYRES, S.T.B., of Great Horkesley, 1617-8—1642, who probably held some Colchester living at the same time ; THOMAS NEWCOMEN, of Holy Trinity, from 1628 till his sequestration about 1644 ; and GABRIEL HONIFOLD, S.T.B., of Ardleigh 1614-1642, who when articled against about 1644 had also held St. Mary Magdalene for 28 years.

Newcomen, as minister of St. Runwald's, was indicted in 1637 by a man named Burrowes (possibly Francis Burrowes, down on the Classis as Elder for St. Nicholas) for not reading prayers and administering the sacrament according to the Book of Common Prayer. The point was that he made communicants to come to the rail to receive and refused to administer elsewhere. The indictment was at first rejected by the jury, but accepted later. Sir John Lambe's opinion was that it could not be maintained. Burrowes was attacked in the High Commission Court ; he testified at Laud's trial that Stockdale was sent to arrest him and his house was beset ; Stockdale left the warrant with the Mayor, who ignored a *Habeas Corpus*, saying that he would obey the Archbishop's warrant rather than the King's writ, because it came first. Laud's defence was that what was done by the High Commission was done by the Court as a whole, not by him personally ; he was not responsible if the mayor of a town gave an indiscreet or worse answer. (See Appendix F).

There was further evidence from Mr. Aske, that Laud twice referred him on another matter to Sir John Lambe ; the second time he found the plot was to make him an instrument about the rails, which he absolutely refused. Laud answered that if Lambe did speak to Aske about the rails it was not by his commission. " I understood Mr. Aske too well to offer to make him an instrument in such a business. His zeal would have set the rails on fire as soon as ever he had come near them." Aske added that when the indictment was found against Newcomen letters missive were sent by Stockdale for himself and his wife ; he went into Holland to escape the oath *ex officio*. " The truth is," says Laud, " he was too guilty to appear ; for his wife was a separatist and himself confesses that she came not to the prayers of the Church. And as for him, I ever found him the great maintainer of all wilful

opposition against the Church." Aske declared that when he came to the Archbishop at Croydon, he told him he might have put the indictment against Newcomen in his pocket (Laud explained that he meant for one sessions, which was often done) and said, "If he were so strictly set against churchmen in the temporal courts, he must look for as strict proceedings in the High Commission." His clerk, who read the indictment, and some jurors, were attached; Laud declared there was no evidence that it was for reading it, or for their act as jurors. (Laud's Troubles and Tryall, ch. XXVI, p. 260; also S.P.D. 376, 109.) Aske was Recorder of Colchester.

Newcomen and Honifold (Eyres was apparently dead) suffered severely at the hands of the Colchester mob in 1642. Newcomen was captured with Sir John Lucas, who was just starting to join the King at York. He narrowly escaped lynching, being saved only by the personal risk of Sir Thomas Barrington and Harbottle Grimston. He was in the Fleet from 29 August to 24 September. Honifold's house was plundered bare; he went to crave the Mayor's assistance to restore his goods and punish the offenders; but got no redress, was cruelly mobbed, and forced to take refuge in the common gaol. See *Mercurius Rusticus* for details. The great unpopularity of both Newcomen and Honifold is clear, but not its precise causes. Articles were brought against both somewhat later before the Earl of Manchester's Committee; Davids gives the depositions (from Cole's MS.). The charges against Newcomen are entirely political or ecclesiastical. They include the deposition that when not allowed to make the sign of the Cross over a child in baptism, he said, "We do not receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, neither do we sign it with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter it shall be ashamed. . . ."

The charges against Honifold were for non-residence, seldom preaching, swearing, and playing at cards and tables on the Lord's Day.

Apart from grudging the expense of the rails, the great objection was to the requirement that all must come up there to receive. This is prominent a few years later in charges brought against the clergy. But if any minister came outside to deliver he was liable to the Archdeacon's Court; so Israel Hewett of Maldon in 1639. In 1639 there was another attempt to get the matter settled in a lay court. On 7 August 1639 Aylett writes to Lambe: "At the Assizes at Chelmsford were two inditements against two ministers of Essex for denying Communion; the quarrel is for not coming

out of the rail to administer. I have talked with a grand juryman who tells me there were seven or eight more framing to have been put in, but the Assizes ending on Wednesday morning, they came too late. It is said such inditelements were offered in Suffolk, but Lord Bramston would not admit them as not being of temporal jurisdiction; and Baron Weston, one of our judges, told the parson of Chelmsford that these inditelements would come to nothing, for the ministers being called and they alleging their Ordinary's command, they must be dismissed. I had some talk with one of my name, the lord of Coxall. I wondered he, being a wise man, would find such a bill. He excused himself that all were violent for it, so I told him he had done wisely had they enquired of the judge if such reformatations in the church belonged to the Common Law. He told me the greatest argument they had for it was that my Lord of Canterbury had ordered otherwise, and that these men had insolently disobeyed his grace's order, and therefore they had done it. I answered that they showed no great depth of wisdom to believe such reports, but much less to think that his grace had no sufficient authority to censure such clergy as disobey the church's commands, but he must be beholden to a jury of Essex men to take upon them ecclesiastical cognizance not given by the statute; yet you will scarce believe how this is applauded by some seeming wise men." (S.P.D., 427, 30.)

This shows the feeling among better-class people, from whom the Grand Jury would be taken. There is other evidence of the feelings of a lower class.

The State Papers for the summer of 1640 are full of notices of the gross disorder and insubordination of the soldiers sent to fight the Scots. In several cases they attacked and even murdered their officers.

Lord Maynard writes on 27 July (S.P.D., 461, 24) that the insolencies of the soldiers every day increase by new attempts, so that they have now within these few days taken upon them to reform churches, and even in the time of divine service to pull down the rails about the Communion Table, and at "Ickelinton" in Cambridgeshire to force the minister to run over a river, and at Panfield near Braintree to forsake his charge and family to save his life. On the same day the Earl of Warwick writes (25), "The soldiers have been reasonably quiet till this last occasion, caused by a barrel of beer and fifty shillings money sent them by Dr. Barkham, parson of Bocking, of whose kindness it seems they took too much, for I found them much disordered by drink that

day, and in that distemper they went to his church and pulled up the rails about the Communion Table in the Chancel, and brought them before their captain's lodging and there burnt them; the like they did in another town near. The ringleaders I have sent to the house of correction at Chelmsford."

A news-letter of the same date says, "Last Thursday the soldiers about Braintree, Essex, got leave to ring the bells, and being in the church they went into the chancel, and seeing the Communion Table railed about cried out it was not fit that the Communion Table should be impounded, so they took the rails away and burnt them; for which two or three of them are since imprisoned. Some fifty of these soldiers created greater disorder in the church of Radwinter, near Walden, where they took away the statue of our Saviour with some cherubim and seraphim, and carried them to Walden where they cast all of them into the fire, expressing much bitterness against the parson of that parish, who was at Cambridge at that time; as if they had been replenished with holy zeal, whereas they are as profane as any sons of Belial."

(Richard Drake, rector of Radwinter, tells us in his autobiography of the nature of the figures on the screen he erected and of the action of the soldiers who, he avows, acted at the instigation of some of the parish.)

Another news-letter of 4 August (463, 33) says, "The billeted soldiers of Essex have fallen in more disorder last week in removing the Communion Tables which were altarwise into the middle of the chancel, and they have broken down the rails in a most rude insufferable manner, some of these rails being broken down before the preacher got out of his pulpit in the afternoon; this is complained of and will be severely punished."

There are a number of notices about the same conduct in Hertfordshire. At Hadham, where Dr. Paske was incumbent, they pulled down a window lately built by him. Rails were pulled up in five churches in Broadwater Hundred; those at King's Walden in Hitchin Half-Hundred were pulled up after sermon before all the congregation. Rails were pulled up in ten churches in the Hundreds of Caisho and Dacorum, the soldiers being never more than ten in number, and either finding the door open or procuring the key.

During a visitation at Sudbury, a mob tore up the rails, armed themselves with the pieces, went to the visitor and took possession of some of the books and presentments.

Further examples of the trouble in parishes are furnished by

Drake's autobiography. Among the articles presented against him in January 1640-1 was one that "Easter last he refused to administer the Communion to at least 100 of the parishioners which attended all the three days appointed, only because they would not come up to the rail; although they presented themselves kneeling in the chancel or near it." His answer was: "Tis true I omitted to administer the Communion to divers, the definite number I cannot tell, in obedience to the order given by Sir Nathaniel Brent Lent was four years, in the Archi-episcopal Visitation, and by Dr. Duck at the Episcopal Visitation September was three years, that all should receive at the rail, and that the priest should not administer to any but at the rail. Besides it was the custom used in the parish before and continued upon Communions since my being Parson, which I desired still to preserve entire."

He notes that on 26 September, 1641, Richard Durden, the churchwarden, removed the Communion Table, which anciently stood above the ascent in the chancel, before the present incumbent came, and set it below the steps, crowding one end into a hole and close to the north wall, so that the parson could not stand at the north end thereof, according to law, to officiate.

In the later articles against him in 1643 it was stated that he had continued to administer the Lord's Supper on the Communion Table standing at the east end of the chancel upon the steps. His answer is that he will do so when God shall give opportunity, before the Table, wherever standing; "as they can tell I have often done by their disorderly behaviour in removing it to and fro, not only in the body of the chancel but also of the church."

In at least two Essex churches, the Table was duly railed in, which was after all the main point, while still left in the middle of the Chancel, rails being placed all round it. This is still the case at St. Osyth; it was so at Epping for many years, until the church was restored. Morant says of Epping church, "It is remarkable that the Communion Table is placed at a distance from the east wall of the church, with a rail right round it; which is supposed to have been done by Jer. Dyke, vicar of this church in the last century, out of a simple opposition to the injunctions then issued." In a note he gives this as the opinion of Mr. John Lloyd, vicar 1710-1753, and also of Mr. Holman. But it is not clear whether the attribution to Dyke came from tradition or only from conjecture.

Some other churches present an approximation to this, the

rails being turned North and South of the Tables, as well as West. This is the case, on a small scale, in the old church at Langdon Hills, and at Great Bursted; it is found also at Kedington, just over the Suffolk border, where Samuel Fairclough was minister for many years, and the Barnardistons were patrons.

For the legislation and attempted legislation of the Long Parliament on the matter, see Shaw, Vol. I, 103-110. In August 1641 churchwardens in general were ordered to remove the Communion Table from the East end when it stood altarwise to some convenient place of church or chancel, and to remove the rails. Finally an ordinance was passed, 28 August 1643, to demolish all altars and tables of stone; to remove Communion Tables from the East end to the body of the church, taking away the rails and levelling the chancel.

Only gradually was this reversed at the Restoration. There are a few orders to set the Table at the East end and to rail it off in the records of the Episcopal Visitation of 1664 (notably at Great Dunmow); but these are by no means general, and the orders at the Archdeacon's Visitation 1683-5* show that the Table in many cases did not stand at the East end, while in others there were no rails. In the four western deaneries of the Archdeaconry of Essex (Barking, Ongar, Chafford, Barstable) orders were made for the Communion Table to be set altarwise under the East window and railed off, at Dagenham, Chingford, Kelvedon Hatch, Beauchamp Roothing, Shelley, Stapleford Abbots, Stondon Massey, North Weald, Aveley, Childerditch, Cranham, North Ockendon, Stifford, Wennington, Bowers Gifford, Little Burstead, Chadwell, Doddinghurst, Dunton, Hutton, Orsett, Pitsea, both Ramsdens, Shenfield, Thundersley, West Tilbury, Vange, Wickford; the "old rails" are mentioned at Aveley, Doddinghurst, Wennington.

It is also ordered to be railed in at Nazeing, Stanford Rivers, Theydon Garnon, South Ockendon, Basildon, Corringham, Fobbing, Horndon-on-the-Hill, Langdon Hills.

In several cases there are orders for seats or benches about the Table to be removed; *e.g.*, North Weald, Wanstead, West Tilbury; at Childerditch it is the minister's pew; at Pitsea, the chest.

Probably these orders were duly carried out. We know of just a few parishes not conforming till later. At Leyton until 1693, owing to the narrowness of the chancel, the minister was

* See Essex Archæological Society's *Transactions*, xix, 260 ff., and MS. Rawlinson, B 375.

fain to go about from pew to pew to deliver the Sacrament ; but in that year Mr. Thomas, the churchwarden, having leave from Sir William Hicks to remove his ancestor's monument, which was placed all along the length of the East wall, undertook the taking down of the East wall and making an additional building there, and therein to place the Communion Table to be enclosed within a pair of rails. (Kennedy, History of Leyton, 45.)

At Roxwell, a peculiar jurisdiction of New College, this was not done till 1699. Sir John Bramston's last entry is : " I was in fear I should not have been able to go to Church on Christmas Day ; but I thank God I went, received the Communion at the rails, this being the first time the Communion hath been celebrated since the table was railed in and the pulpit removed."

Havering, also in the peculiar jurisdiction of New College, came in later still. On 29 September, 1709, it was ordered " that Sir Framlingham Gawdy, chapelwarden, do remove the pews at the upper end of the said chapel and place there a decent Communion Table and fix rails before the same." He was continued in office next Easter that this might be carried through.

A draft order, apparently of 1619, for Clavering (MS. Rawlinson, D. 818, f. 127) shows the nature of arrangements at receiving the Communion under James I. John (King), Bishop of London, writes to the Vicar (Jeffrey Watts), churchwardens and parishioners, that his Chancellor, Sir Henry Martin, had ordered a frame to be set up in the chancel for the parishioners to kneel at the time of receiving. This had, however, failed to remove contention and establish good order. But the vicar, churchwardens and chief parishioners having now met and come to an agreement, order is therefore given for the churchwardens to remove this frame, repaying Mr. Watts what its erection has cost him ; and to erect instead a settle on both sides of the chancel, and to make a frame on both sides this settle like the present one.

When the parishioners intend to receive the Communion they shall come and place themselves in these settles, as many as they will contain, and receive the Communion there and not elsewhere. . . . The rest are to remain in the church till those in the settles have received ; then those who have received are to go down into the church and those in the church to come up and fill the said settles again, and there receive.

The general rule was to have Communion quarterly—at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and about Michaelmas. But at

least at Easter, and often at other times, it was common to have celebrations on consecutive Sundays, *e.g.*, on Palm Sunday or Low Sunday, or both, besides Easter Day. We see this most clearly in Woodford Churchwardens' Accounts, where we find a list of collections made at Communion 1643-1674. These were held regularly at the above four seasons, usually spread over two Sundays (at Easter, three) but not at other times. Other churchwardens' accounts also commonly imply quarterly celebrations. So at Stanford Rivers, under Richard Montague. But a monthly celebration was nothing very extraordinary, and at one time at least, not a badge of party. In Elizabeth's time the leaders of the strongly Puritan town of Dedham agreed "that the Lord's Supper be celebrated every first Sunday of every month" (Usher, Presbyterian Movement, 199). Nehemiah Rogers had a monthly celebration for many years at Messing. Fairclough preached at Barnardiston a monthly service of preparation, which suggests a monthly Communion. So St. Leonard and St. James, Colchester, in 1632. But it appears to have been an unpopular innovation by Richard Drake at Radwinter. Durden, his churchwarden, refused to supply bread and wine on certain days in 1641, all intermediate between the regular quarterly seasons. Presumably his attitude was, "If you want this extra, you must pay for it yourself."

The Directory laid down that the Sacrament ought to be administered frequently. But the Puritan demand for a high standard—properly guaranteed by examination by the elders—often stood in the way. There were such disputes about qualifications and disqualifications that often the line of least resistance was to drop it altogether (see Shaw II, 147-151). Drake is most indignant with William Voyle (Lecturer at Radwinter, afterwards of Hereford) for saying on Palm Sunday, 1643, that Palm Sunday and Easter Day were and had been two most bloody days in England in regard of many souls damned by unworthy receiving. In consequence of this, on Easter Day few, not ten, received the Communion, and in the afternoon Voyle dared to give God thanks for blessing his pains in keeping the people from profaning the Lord's Table. Drake gives also a letter from Voyle to Mr. Wells, in which he says: "I know not what jar the Lord's Supper may make, if Parliament shall make me curate. For, for my part, I am resolved come what will of it, by God's help now not to administer it, and when I do, if I do at it all, to do it far otherwise than the most famous preachers hereabouts do." His not

administering the Lord's Supper cast him out where he was before. Drake's comment on the letter is, "Ex ore tuo, nequam serve!"

It would seem that the Communion had been dropped for a long time at Earls Colne till revived by Josselin, 23 Feb. 1650-1, (Diary p. 82). A subsequent entry (26 March 1665, p. 116) suggests there had been no *Easter* celebrations since 1642 or 1643.

V. THE LONG PARLIAMENT : MISCELLANEOUS.

The Long Parliament from the beginning dealt freely with ecclesiastical matters. Its early records are full of complaints by or against clergy. Dr. Shaw gives a complete list. One of the first dealt with is Dr. Emanuel Utey, Vicar of Chigwell. Walker, in his "Sufferings of the Clergy," has a long account of the proceedings against Edward Simmonds, Vicar of Rayne, drawn from his own Memoirs. Here as elsewhere we distinguish action in the early months of the Long Parliament and later action after the outbreak of the War, leading to sequestration. I have thought it best to limit myself to what is not yet published, and have therefore made great use of the MSS. of the Barrington family of Hatfield Broad Oak (now MSS. Egerton, 2643-2650). These are particularly full of political matters just now, as Sir Thomas Barrington was M.P. and senior Deputy Lieutenant. Till his death near the end of 1643 they form one of our best sources for the opening struggles of the War. Letters from Cromwell and from Hampden are included.

A. PETITIONS AGAINST ESSEX CLERGY.

The Barrington Papers include two petitions against Essex clergy. (1) MS. Egerton 2651, f. 97: Petition of inhabitants of CLAVERING:—"The inhabitants of Clavering in the County of Essex humbly show the grievances which they have suffered from Jeffery Wats, Vicar of the said town of Clavering, and John Golding, Curate, desiring redress.

In primis the said Jeffery Watts and John Golding his curate have refused to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to divers of the parishioners of the said town of Clavering, because they would not come up to the rails to receive, although they did offer themselves and show their willingness to receive in the usual place in the chancel.

2. The said Jeffery Wats and John Golding did prosecute these men in the spiritual court and put them to great trouble and charges and loss of time for not coming to those rails near the Communion Table, although they did present themselves in the usual place.

3. The said Jeffery Wats hath three several churches all with cures and will neither reside with your humble petitioners the inhabitants of Clavering, nor provide a sufficient curate. And yet your petitioners have proffered to contribute largely unto an able curate, notwithstanding the sufficiency of our vicarage, being worth per an. six score pounds.

4. That the said Jeffery Wats, clerk, hath from time to time persecuted and troubled divers of the parish for going further to hear the word preached in other places at times for twenty years together notwithstanding his own absence and the insufficiency of the curate.

We humbly entreat this honourable court for help in this great grievance.

JOSEPH WOODCOCKE.	EDMUND HUMFRIE.	JOHN LAYSTON.
RICHARD CRABB.	JOHN OSBURNE.	JOHN EAVERETT.

The above is made from a "foul draft" preserved with it. This adds other details, *e.g.*, that Watts is vicar and parson of Langley and Much Lees, and that the curates have been unable, superstitious, contentious, and unfit for the ministry.

The upshot was that Watts resigned Clavering and Langley, but kept Great Leighs. He had much difficulty in getting in arrears of tithes at Clavering and Langley. (See MSS. Egerton 2648, 8, 16; 2647, 375, quoted below). Nothing further seems known of Golding.

(2) f. 150. The humble petition of sundry the inhabitants of Elmdon in the County of Essex, Humbly sheweth, That Thomas Gardner, vicar of the parish of Elmdon, is a man of scandalous course of life and very scurrilous in his speech, and spends much of his time in mean servile works and doth wholly neglect his study, and is very careless in officiating of his pastoral charge, not having so much as a Bible in his house these many years, and hath not preached nor catechised to any purpose among his people these twenty years, nor will allow anything to an able minister to preach there, although his vicarage being of the yearly value of £80. per an. may well afford some allowance; notwithstanding your petitioners have earnestly desired it, they offering to allow

20 marks out of their own estates towards one if he would have allowed but £10. per an. more ; by reason whereof your petitioners are not only deprived of spiritual food for the soul, but . . . subject to run into all excess of riot. And whereas the said vicar is very careless in sanctifying the Sabbath, and hath read the book for recreation upon the Sabbath, and suffers his wife and children to profane the Lord's Day by frequenting ale-houses and by enticing others thereunto, and doth not reprove them for this, by reason whereof the youth there are grown very insolent and "deboist." And he hath procured the Communion Table to be set altar-wise at the east end of the chancel, close to the wall, it formerly standing in the middle of the chancel, and to be railed in ; and enjoins the people to come to the rails to receive the sacrament, to the great grief and perplexity of spirit of your poor petitioners and of some other parishioners there.

May it please this honourable committee to take the premises into your grave consideration, and to afford your petitioners such speedy redress and relief herein as in your wisdom shall be thought meet.

The result of this does not appear. Thomas Gardner, who had come by 1628, was dead by April 26, 1645, when William Pryme was instituted. It does not appear whether Gardner had been sequestered, though this is quite possible.

There are two series of Articles against Richard Drake of Radwinter, given, with his answers, as an appendix to his autobiography (MS. Rawlinson, D. 158). The first were those on which he was condemned by the Grand Committee on Religion, Feb. 1640-1 ; the second, those brought against him before the Plundered Ministers Committee, Oct. 1643. These were not proceeded with, as he was under sequestration for absence from his cure. It is most exceptional to have the answers preserved.

I. (1640-1).

Art. I. Our minister doth usually in time of Divine Service turn his back upon the People, and with his face to the Communion Table read the Common Prayer, the Litany, the Creed ; and afterwards goeth into the chancel, and bowing superstitiously towards the Communion Table there reads the Epistle and Gospel, etc. ; and after the Sermon reads there what is called the Second Service also.

Answer : I do not find that I am determined by the Rubric to pray with my face towards the people. Nay rather, with

submission to better judgement, the minister being appointed in reading the lessons to turn so as to be best heard, the Rubric doth more than imply that he ought not to pray that way he reads. And that this way was the interpretation and practice of Qn. Elizabeth's Reign is clear by Mr. Cartwright's objection *That the Minister sits in the chancel with his back to the people, as if he had some secret talk with God.* (vide Bishop Whitgift's Replies, p. 485, and Mr. Hooker's Eccl. Pol., L.5, c. 30.)

In my approaches to the Holy Table, after that way which they call superstitious, so worship I the God of my fathers, not terminating my adoration in or to the Holy Table ; which though there be no express Rubric or Canon for, as neither for standing at the Hymns and Doxologies, saying the Psalms and Hymns alternatim, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord !" upon the naming of the Gospel, etc., yet I conceive it to be founded upon a higher law, the Second Commandment, which forbidding the external worship of the body to be given to an image, commands it to be given to God who is a jealous God. And the constant practice of the Mother Churches and of persons of greatest authority and piety is strong enough to free it from innovation or contradiction of the law.

Art 2. He doth usually both in praying and in preaching. wear a surplice with a figure of a cross upon it, after this manner I ⁺ H S ; and teacheth for doctrine that every good Christian W should wear a cross.

Answer. In all time of my ministration I wear a surplice which hath on the inside of the collar I ⁺ H S upon it ; they put in the W ; if I had, I see not why they or any should be offended at it. Christ's + I learned before I learned a letter, and hope I should never be ashamed of his name or of the (stigmata) marks of the Lord Jesus. It hath been a usual mark upon Communion cloths and pulpit cushions, and I know not what they mean by the objection, unless because the Jesuits use it, it should be unlawful for us ; a very good argument to persuade fools neither to eat nor drink nor to believe in the Lord Jesus. The latter charge is a high slander, for I never said that every Christian should wear a cross literally ; I have often taught them that morally he ought to bear Christ's cross.

Art. 3. He hath set up a new screen between the Church and

the Chancel with images of wood upon it, and with plates [?] of pricks like thorns upon their heads, and 3 nails pointing downward, upon the head of them, and figures of letters after the form aforesaid, which images we conceive to be intended for the resemblance of Christ.

Answer. If the new screen be a fault, it is a chargeable one, I am sure; for instead of a rotten old one, I erected this at my own charge as a tribute of my devotion and thankfulness to God. It was plain, without painting, of wainscot, whereupon for a suitable ornament to such a place were carved 2 figures of cherubims faces, on each side one, with these letters, STS, STS, STS, DNS, IHS, XRS, engraved in the wood, and rays of glory about the several words.

Art. 4. After the consecration of the elements in the Sacrament he removeth to the middle of the Table and maketh a low obeisance towards it, and then offereth money thereat, but to what use we know not, for the poor have it not.

Answer. My offering is before the Consecration, at the appointed time of the Offertory; so that it cannot be, as they ignorantly if not spitefully suggest, to the sacrament, but to pious and charitable uses; which I dispose of, as I think good, to the ends specified. The truth is that they call the oblation of the elements of Bread and Wine the Consecration of them, for I used to offer the Bread and Wine to God, in testimony of our thankfulness for these his creatures, and then desired his acceptance of them for that holy use to which they were set apart; and after that I offered some piece of money according to my ability, for God's service and for the use of the poor. And I presume the poor will not complain of my want of charity. To the point of Adoration I spake before, and take it to be my duty and a special part of my reasonable service of God.

Art. 5. Easter last he refused to administer the Communion to at least 100 of the parishioners, which attended all the three days appointed, only because they would not come up to the rail; although they all presented themselves kneeling in the chancel, or near it; and at the same time pointing at one Henry Coote there kneeling, he upbraided him with these words: "Your knavish tricks will do you no good."

Answer. 'Tis true I omitted to administer the Sacrament to divers, the definite number I cannot tell, in obedience to the order given by Sir Nathaniel Brent Lent was four years in the Archiepiscopal Visitation, and by Dr. Duck in the Episcopal,

September was three years, that all should receive at the Rail, and that the Priest should not administer to any but at the Rail. Besides, it was a custom used in the parish before, and continued upon Communion since my being Parson, which I desired still to preserve entire, and not to suffer them to innovate in one particular, according to the rule of the Wise Man, "Give the water no passage, no not a little"; fearing lest the yielding to one omission or alteration might be an inlet for many to follow. The words laid to my charge, though by the very irreverent behaviour of the said Coote, now kneeling on one knee, now on another, now on neither, in a very scornful and uncomely manner, extorted from me, were not, I confess, advisedly spoken by me, being in so sacred an action; but I have given satisfaction for them formerly to my superior.

Art. 6. When he catechizeth the children on the Sabbath day at church he teacheth them that it is lawful for them to take their recreation on that day; and telleth us we are equally bound to keep holy days as the Lord's Day.

Answer. I never taught the children to call it the Sabbath Day; this by the way. But expounding the Fourth Commandment I taught them that the Judaism of the Sabbath was abolished by Christ, and the name by the Apostles, who always call it the Lord's Day, or the first day of the week. But that the morality of the Commandment is eternal, for the setting apart of solemn times for the public worship of God. In virtue thereof, as Sunday was appointed by the Apostles, so were Holy Days by the Church of God and the Imperial Edicts. Whereupon I told them that Holy Days were equally commanded to be observed by the same statute of the realm, and that the Judaism of the Sabbath, that is the strict and rigid observance of the seventh day, being taken away by Christ and buried in His grave, honest and moderate recreations were allowed out of the time of divine service. Teste Mr. Calvin. In consideration whereof I referred to His Majesty's Proclamation; and in reference to the limitations therein expressed, have often called upon Richard Durden, one of my churchwardens and complainants, to send the youth from their sports to the Divine Service and Catechism.

Art. 7. In a sermon by him preached on a Communion Day about Christmas was twelvemonths, he taught that it was no marvel if the people were so obstinate and untoward, seeing the devil had been the seedsman among them above 60 years; which divers

there present were much grieved at, because it is the time of the continuance of the Reformation in England.

Answer. This is as false a suggestion as it is full of malice. And the Seedsman was very busy at work in the framing of it. I named not 60 years, but showed that the super-seminator was at work in Christ's time, nay higher yet, in Paradise. Besides, they are out in the date of the Reformation, which hath been above these 80 years since the beginning of Q. Elizabeth, and leave out K. Edward VI. Enough to show what spirit the complainants are of, who make conclusions of their own without any premises of mine ; and then pretend, good men, to be much grieved at them.

Art. 8. About Shrovetide was 12 months, at the burial of one Martha Wale, he preached a sermon wherein he said that she was a good woman whilst she lived and did much good by her prayers here on earth, but now being dead she doth more good by her prayers in heaven, and that her prayers are more available for her family now she is dead.

Answer. What I spoke to her commendation I was informed of by them who knew her better than I did, and gave me a very good report of her. And my words were those, *in terminis* to her children and friends by way of consolation : " You have good cause to hope that as she is now herself in heaven, so by her prayers, (for we believe in the Communion of Saints, and that the Saints departed pray for us as we praise God for them), she is able to do you more good now than when she was on earth." This character I learned of St. Cyprian, who in his 57th [60] Epistle makes this compact with Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, "*Memores nostri . . . non cesset oratio*" [quoted in full]. And in his book *De Mortalitate*, "*Patriam nostram Paradisum . . . de nostra salute sollicita*" [in full]. And doth it not stand within reason that, Charity being perfected in heaven, the saints should exercise this most excellent and proper act thereof by prayer for their fellow members here on earth ? Nor can the Invocation of Saints in the Church of Rome have any ground or colour from this their intercession for us. For the Saints know in general that we are miserable, but they cannot know our particular wants, nor for all St. Gregory's "*Qui vident videntem omnia, vident omnia*" (They who see Him who sees all things, see all things), can they hear our prayers.

Art. 9. In the sermon preached about Christmas aforesaid, he taught them there was Christ upon the altar, and except we

worship Him with our bodies, we should never taste any sweetness by Him to our souls, pointing with his hand to the Communion Table.

Answer. I grant the words or such like have been said by me. St. Chrysostom I carried it from, edited by Bp. Jewel. "Christ was in the stall, and Christ is on the Altar, but not in one case the same sort of being, for there He was by bodily presence, but here by way of a sacrament." In the next, if I be out, St. Augustine deceived me. "Nemo carnem Christi comedit nisi prius adoraverit" (No one eats Christ's flesh except first he has adored). And Bp. Jewel in express words saith "He deadly offendeth God and is guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ that adoreth it not." But doth Mr. Harding think, saith he to him, and so do I to these, that the religion of Christ is so gross that we cannot eat nor adore the Body unless it lie corporally before us? St. Ambrose saith, We adore Christ's flesh in the mysteries, that is to say, in the ministration of the mysteries. But this adoration is not directed to the sacrament nor requireth any corporal or real presence.

Art. 10. He preached lately for doctrine that the Papists gave God his due. And also said, it was pity the Bible was ever translated into English.

Answer. Comparing the two extremes of pure religion, Sacrilege and Superstition, I said that Superstition came nearer the virtue than Sacrilege doth, as Prodigality comes nearer to Liberality than Covetousness doth. In prosecution whereof, by way of dehoration from sacrilege, I said that the Superstitious Papist was better than the Sacrilegious Atheist. For he gives God his due, but parts with others, Saints and Angels; but this nor gives his due to God nor yet to others.

The last clause I detest from my soul. I never spoke the words simply and absolutely. This I said, That they who pervert the Scriptures, as St. Peter saith, to their own destruction, would one day wish they had never had them. Nay, to clear my judgment on this point: when I understood that some did misunderstand me, I preached as the petitioners know, fully to the contrary. But it is no news for malice to misconstrue and for ignorance to misapply sound doctrine. I wish them better minds and leave them and myself to God's righteous tribunal.

Si accusasse sat, quis erit innocens?

The second series of Articles, 1643, with Drake's answers, are as follows :

Imprimis. The said Parson was formerly convicted before the honourable House of Commons ; and upon Articles pressed against him by these Parishioners held unworthy to be in the Ministry.

Answer. Unjustly convicted before, and the repetition thereof cannot justify it or them, the Accusers or the Judges. Some of the Articles were confessed Truths but not Faults ; others denied, but not proved but by strong assertions of ignorant and malicious men.

Some of his former offences not specified in the Articles formerly exhibited against him.

(1) In catechizing upon the Second Commandment he taught saying that it is lawful to make images, but not to worship them.

Answer. A fair testimony from the mouth of enemies, that I taught it was not lawful to worship images. The devil sometimes speaks truth. But that it is lawful to make them, I said ; and so doth God, or else He had never commanded the making of the Brazen Serpent, and of Cherubims. It seems they wanted no malice, but they wanted articles that made this one.

(2) He was accustomed when he read the Litany to go from the Desk where he had read before, and to begin the Litany in the middle alley of the church, kneeling just before one of the wooden images which he had set up on the new screen between the chancel and the body of the church (as we conceive) to resemble Christ ; and this he used to do with his face towards the east and his back towards the people ; and in saying " O God, Redeemer of the world " he lift up his eyes, looking devoutly on the afore-said image, being on high before him.

Answer. In obedience and conformity to the cathedral and mother churches in this practice, which I presume was grounded on the 18th Injunction of Q. Elizabeth, ordering that the priest with others of the quire (and that expressly in parish churches, how it came to be neglected *viderint alii*) should kneel in the midst of the church and should sing or say plainly the Litany ; the rubric of the Liturgy in the Commination intimates no less, when it commands the Priests and clerks kneeling (where they are accustomed to say the Litany) to say Ps. 51. I was wont to read the Litany in the place they mention. The rest of the Article is full of ignorance, of slander and uncharitableness. The images

they talk of, I told you what they were before, in answer to the former Articles, which how they could possibly be imagined to resemble Christ, I remit to the judgement of all who have not lost their senses. But malice hath otherwhile very strange conceptions. Not only this, but all the other part of divine service, I used to perform with my face towards the east, which as it was the ancient guise of Christendom, witness Tertullian and St. Athanasius, to name no more of the Fathers of the church, in all their applications unto God ; so (as I evinced it before) it was intended by the rubric commanding that the Priest when he reads the lessons turn so as to be best heard of the people ; which had been but needless if his face had been towards them before, in the Confession and Hymns. But by this the meaning of the church is clear, that when the Priest speaks immediately to the people, as from God, his face shall be towards them ; when, as to God for them, another way ; and what more likely than the old way of the church.

The lifting up of the eyes in prayer is a more catholic custom than their novel device of shutting them, or holding their hats before them ; yet I will not be so uncharitable as to say or think that they terminate their worship there. Their reason of so doing may be pretended for the avoiding of distraction. I desire charity (which as the Apostle saith, thinketh no evil) to interpret my gesture of lifting up my eyes as an argument of my hope and expectation of all good gifts from above, for "Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens." That so I did only in saying, "O God Redeemer of the world," and looking directly on the pretended image, it discovers a strange boldness of spirit in the complainants to affirm, and makes me not a little wonder where they learned that piece of machiavellian policy, "*Calumniare fortiter, adhaerebit aliquid.*"

(3) The said images being taken down by certain soldiers, within a short time after he preached against sacrilege in these words, "Thou that abhorrest idols, committest thou sacrilege," which he did plainly apply against them that suffered these images to be taken away.

Answer. Much good reason, I am confident I had to do so, as being entrusted with the care of their souls. That it was sacrilege to take them away in that manner, the law would long since have decided, I presume, if it had been open. *Suffered to be taken away* is but a slight evasion. It is too well known the

soldiers were invited to the fact. They were but instrumental; the Petitioners know, who principal.

Showing how unreformed the said Parson continued after he was convicted.

Answer. What they call unreformed, I am bound to be, so many oaths and subscriptions lying upon my soul, while [*sic*—? until I shall either be convinced in conscience of the unlawfulness of what I do; or be released from doing so by as good authority as doth enjoin me so to do. *Ejus est destituere cujus est instituere* is a true maxim in all law.

(1) Whereas he had formerly raised the floor of the chancel much higher than he found it, making 3 steps to the Communion Table, and had quite stopped up the door out of the churchyard into the chancel with lime and stone, he hath not as yet levelled the said floor nor opened the said door.

Answer. There being steps before to the Communion Table, what I did was for beauty and comeliness with no little charge and expense; covering the old rubbish tiles and broken stones with new square stones laid diamond-wise. I hope God will be pleased to put another estimate upon my service to His house than these unthankful men have done. As for the second clause of the complaint, I was not so unadvised in the shutting of the door they speak of as to open it again to satisfy their humour. Inconveniencies I found by it and provided against them by stopping it up. The chancel by law belongs to the Parson for reparation; I think it but reason that he shall dispose of it as it standeth best for his accommodation; especially if it be ordered for the more decent performance of the divine service. In a word, to level the floor, which I found raised, would engage me in what they falsely accuse me of, Innovation. To open the door would continue the inconveniences which I laboured to prevent; and both would add further charges to me, who am but poorly requited for all my former.

2) Since that time he hath continued the bowing of his body in time of divine service at the name of Jesus, and to administer the Lord's supper on the Communion Table standing at the east end of the Chancel upon the said steps.

Answer. And shall do the first while the Canon of the Church stands; and longer than so, while St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians which commands it *in terminis terminantibus*. The second, when God shall give the opportunity, before the Com-

munion Table, wherever standing. As they can tell, I have often done, by their disorderly behaviour in removing it to and fro, not only in the body of the chancel, but also of the church.

(3) Since that time, before his sermons praying for the archbishop, bishops, and as he termed them, priests of that sacred order, he hath often prayed that the Lord would prosper their handiwork, and strike through the loins of them that rise up against them, that they may never rise up again. After which manner he used to pray when the Archbishop of Canterbury was prisoner in the Tower.

Answer. Surely they are shrewdly put to it for articles against me, who make the expressions of my duty and charity the ground of one. That so I did is far from a crime, in my opinion, as the not doing of it would have been too near one in the judgment of the christian world. To urge the Church's canon for my plea perhaps might breed another quarrel, but I shall dare to urge it though, and back it with the constant practice of all Christians, who knew how much the Church's peace and happiness depended upon them. *Ecclesiae salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet*, saith St. Hierom, one who seems to some to be no good friend to bishops. And that now, if ever, they have need of the prayers of Christian people, is made too evident by the rude behaviour and tumultuous practices against their persons and their office. The form I used is the prophet Moses's, the meekest man upon the earth; who yet in the cause of the tribe of Levi, in a special manner God's peculiar, would not be content to beg prosperity to it, but falls beside his wont to imprecation of his enemies. I do not think it any fault to follow, when Moses went before; nor ought I to cease to pray so because some men are displeased with it.

That I used this form when the Archbishop was in the Tower is very true, but that I took it up on that occasion is as false. My ground was far more general; the consideration of the despised estate of all the clergy, and no less than twelve of the Bishops then imprisoned, and the very Order struck at.

(4) About the midst of January last, when the Malignants did endeavour to have the Commission of Array executed in the said County of Essex, on a Sabbath in the morning he did openly in the Church pray the Lord to prosper the King in his way, and bring him safe to his place, and to prosper those counsels about him, and to confound those who took up arms against him. And in the afternoon of the same day, after he had read Common Prayer,

he said unto all people there assembled, I will read you the Petition for Peace, and the King's answer to it ; and so began to read the scandalous Petition, under the name of the County of Essex ; the purport of which answer was to persuade the people to lay down arms upon the King's pardon.

Answer. That so I said is the crown of my rejoicing, and the ground of all my sufferings. How just the one, how unjust the other I leave to the righteous Judge. I account it no sin nor shame to suffer in so good a cause ; which howsoever labouring under that fond notion, that *brutum fulmen*, of malignancy, gives me more real inward comfort, I bless God, than I fear I should enjoy if I had any way assisted them either by my purse or by my prayers. That I prayed for the prosperity of the King in his person and counsels, was a part of my Christian duty and loyalty ; that I prayed for the confusion of his enemies, is warranted by God and his saints in all ages of the church. That I did both openly and in my church, was to profess my faith and allegiance and to preserve the souls committed to my charge in conformity to that true religious policy of the wisest Solomon. My son, fear God and the King ; and meddle not with them that are given to change (are seditious), for their destruction shall arise suddenly and who knoweth the ruin of them both ?

Answer to the second clause. My endeavour to read the Petition for Peace (which they call scandalous ; so to a diseased stomach sweets are bitter) and the King's gracious answer thereunto, were animated by St. Paul's *Quam speciosi pedes evangelisantium pacem* ; and to acquaint the deluded people with the tender bowels and merciful inclinations of His Majesty to pardon ; which had they been as ready to accept as he to offer, we had not waded through a sea of blood *et exivit* to the Israelites, from a Canaan to a wilderness. But " *heu mihi : cum his qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus ; cum loquebar illis, impugnabant me gratis.*"

(5) The said parson hath deserted his charge, even since the beginning of February last, leaving in his room a stranger called Mr. Thomas Garnham.

Answer. A very honest and discreet man, whose company and assistance it was my unhappiness to be so soon deprived of by a desertion of my charge necessitated upon me by a forcible and violent assault upon my person, upon the 25 of Jan. 42, in the very church. My first intentions were but to absent for a while, till the heat and storm was over, and the spirits of the people

allayed. But information of desperate words uttered against me, when I should return, made me provide for my safety by an unwilling but willing retirement—*ἐκὼν ἀεκώντι δὲ θυμῷ*. Yet not leaving my cure unprovided of a prudent able man, Mr. Th. G. I had the greater satisfaction in my conscience, that I sinned neither against the law of God or man, having for my plea and just defence the saying of the primitive bishops and priests, *Non fugimus, sed fugamur*.

ἡ ἐμὴ ἀπολογία τοῖς ἐμὲ ἀνακρίνουσιν αὕτη ἐστι.

I Cor : IX, 3.

[For a fuller account of Drake, see later.]

B. TROUBLES OF ESSEX CLERGY.

The Barrington Papers (Egerton MSS. 2643–2650) give vivid pictures of the troubles of Essex clergy of different kinds during 1643.

(1) JOHN WEBB, OF HALSTEAD.*

Worthy Sir,

Your great affairs may stay me from troubling you about any of mine, and the unseemliness of a divine complaining on his parishioners may beat me off, but necessity cannot but be importunate, and mine is great. Your worship knows how unlovingly and unseemly the parish of Halsted used me at my first coming, only because the B. of London was the patron and not themselves, and how hardly they were pacified to admit me into the church upon your Worship's letter with other of the Parliament, until it was seconded by my Lord of Warwick; and then they were quieted, but not quiet, for they professed (and were as good as their words) that I should enjoy small quiet or profits. Your Worship knows how I gave them leave to choose a lecturer and was contented to allow him £20. for the Sabbath afternoon; this could not content them, but they extorted from my poverty and necessity to give £30, for their lecturer which I promised, but on this condition openly unto them (I speak sincerely) that I might duly and timely receive my tithes and offerings. I was afterwards arrested (being surety for a brother) and imprisoned, where I have now lain these three quarters of a year, for want of my tithes, either not duly paid me or by some not at all; for offerings and church duties at Easter or thereabouts, it is such popery with them that they will pay none at all at any time, who pay

* MS. Egerton, 2646, 205.

nothing else ; and so they cut me off [?] in this populous parish for my first and second years about £30 ; and now they tell me I shall have no further tithes unless I pay the lecturer £30. I have set them out [?] able men to pay the £20. against his year is out a little after Midsummer, and they will not accept of it. I never knew like inhumanity where religion is so professed. Did not the butcher baker and brewer trust me, my wife and six children should have neither meat nor drink. My charge in prison (so may God help me) I cannot discharge unless some few special compassionate friends do assist me, both for that and for payment to the Parliament, to the Association, and to the poor of my parish, which I am ashamed to suffer. I humbly beseech you (for I am too troublesome) to relieve a poor divine and by some few lines to advertise them that I may not trouble the Parliament with my great grievances. So with my serious prayers to Almighty God for you and yours, I rest

Your humble servant in Christ Jesus,

JOHN WEBB.

Castle Hedingham,

10 May, 1643.

[Dr. John Webb was instituted to Halsted, Feb. 22, 1641-2. He was sequestered, William Sparrow being put in. Webb died before the Restoration.]

(2) JEFFREY WATTS OF CLAVERING AND GREAT LEIGHS.

Several letters to Mr. Kendall, Sir Thomas Barrington's steward.*

He has resigned Clavering, but finds great difficulty in recovering arrears of tithes, especially from "Goodman Totnam of Langley," who owes £9. for 1642, and £44. for 1643. He asks Kendall's help also "in keeping me where I now am, for I hear there are gone articles against me. Let me therefore desire you at your next going to London that you would be pleased to procure me the copy of them at large with the names of the Petitioners, and to reserve your own belief in them until you have my answers. I think it very strange that a man that have done for the Parliament as I have should by the malice of a few be brought to this trouble." (Dec. 19, 1643.)

Again : "I desire you to help me in soliciting Sir Thomas for my sitting fast in Much Leighes Parsonage ; for whether there be any discovery made to them upon my resign of Clavering I know not, but some few of Much Leighes out of malice and malignancy

* MS. Egerton, 2648, 8, 16, 18, 20.

to me are framing articles and intend (if they can) to put me out also of this living."

In another, after speaking about arrears of tithes at Clavering: "And now also I am articted against here at Much Leighes (as divers other ministers). . . . Sir Richard Everard is my very good friend."

[Watts was instituted to Clavering, 1616; to Great Leighs, 1620. There was a petition against him at Clavering in 1640. On his resignation there John Moore was instituted, Oct. 1643. Watts kept Great Leighs, as we should infer from the support of Barrington and Everard. He died in 1663. See *Essex Review*, XVIII, 183.]

There is a long letter about Clavering from John Babington, Treasurer of Christ's Hospital, Oct. 30, 1643.* A letter had been received addressed to the President, Treasurer, and Governors of Christ's Hospital, announcing Mr. Watts' intention of resigning Clavering and Langley, and commending Mr. Moore, who Barrington and the parishioners desired might be presented. There was a promise that if the Governors knew of any honest godly man to present to Langley, he should receive all the profits there. Mr. Moore promised the same. Hence the writer had induced the Governors to present Moore, though Mr. Benfield, who made the same offer, had a strong party. "Mr. Moore was a stranger to the Hospital, but we knew that your Worship would not commend a man but such as you knew to be pious and well gifted." Moore now denies having made any promise about Langley, "which did strike much to me to hear a man counted to be a pious man should deny his word." . . . I desire to present a kinsman of mine to Langley, an honest man named Abraham Jackson."

[For the connection between Clavering and Langley, see Inquisition of 1650. I know nothing of Jackson. Moore was deprived of Clavering in 1662 as a Nonconformist.]

(3) Thomas Griffith, Rector of Aythorp Roothing, writes to Sir Thomas Barrington, June 28, 1643: "Hearing that the Rectory of Aythorp Roothing is assessed at £80. per annum, I have presumed to make known to your Worship how it is with me. I have lent to the honourable Parliament what I was then able to do, whereof I have a ticket. I am in the Association, and find a volunteer, who is now in service with his Excellency. I find a man for the Train Band, and I have paid all manner of demands

* MS. Egerton, 2647, 375.

which my neighbours have paid. This notwithstanding I have had two horses of good price taken from me the last Lent to my great hindrance, which are now as I am informed in service under his Excellency, wherewith I am the rather pleased because they are in so necessary employment. Yet I humbly desire your Worship to take my present estate for the twentieth part under your favourable consideration. I do not know whether my benefice be to be assessed as others are for their fee simple, for I have very little left of this last year's profits, and am very unlikely to enjoy this year's tithe, for I am sick and weak and likelier to die than to live till harvest comes. I am likewise in debt and what I pay towards the twentieth part creditors must loose. Wherefore my former loss and present estate considered, I do humbly entreat your Worship that my two horses, being £12, and the money which I lent, being some £3, may stand for a full discharge of my twentieth part, which otherwise I am utterly unable to pay and must endure the censure in that case ordained. I had thought to have requested my cousin-german, Mr. White, of the House of Commons, to have moved your Worship, but having experience of your religious equity I do wholly rest myself thereupon with my prayer to God for your increase in honour and prosperity."*

[Lord Grey of Wark had authorised the carrying off of horses of malignants. We have accounts of what was done in this way by Joseph Mann of Braintree and Peter Joslyn of Rayne.† Evidently their actions had been criticised, and the lists they gave in may not have been complete; but the clergy are well represented therein.

It would seem that Griffith's presentiment came true; he did not live till harvest. His successor Thomas Argall, was instituted August 29, 1643.]

(4) Sir Henry Mildmay, writing to Sir Thomas Barrington from Wanstead, August 12, 1643, says: "I have received a letter from my Lady Warwick, how much God's people are dejected in the country. Wherefore according to your accustomed wisdom think you of a speedy cure to raise their spirits, and move the House if it be possible this very day to direct an ordinance to be drawn up speedily that good ministers may be paid their just tithes, or else we shall endanger the losing of a great part. For Mr. Wharton

* MS. Eg. 2646, 301.

† MS. Eg. 2646, 188; 2651, 139.

and Mr. Collins of Braintree, with divers other godly ministers, do grievously bemoan themselves that they cannot get bread for their families, and abundance of them intend to come up with a petition to the House. It will therefore be great wisdom for the House to prevent this. . . .” *

[If important men of long standing like Wharton of Felstead and Collins of Braintree felt the pinch, unpopular men must have suffered heavily.]

(5) The humble petition of Frances Withers, the wife of Steven Withers, late Rector of Sheering, humbly sheweth: That your petitioner's poor husband hath been a prisoner about these twelve months, and yet is so, for that his conscience did not permit him to yield such active obedience to some commands imposed upon him as was required. And notwithstanding his years and many concomitant infirmities, and though he had never used to be a stranger to his own house one month, however accommodated all his time before, yet his imprisonment he hath cheerfully undergone and never complained either of that or of whatsoever taxation besides which hath been taken of him, albeit the extraordinary charges of being a prisoner and these together (especially considering the hospitable way he had always lived in before, even to the height of his means) pressed him very hard and devoured his estate even while his livings continued his. And now that they are taken from him, how he and your poor petitioner, being both aged and helpless, and having a charge besides depending upon them, shall subsist, they know not. Yet whereas he was assessed four and twenty pounds for the fifth part of his yearly revenues, which assessment was made when his benefices were at the very point of sequestration and known to be so (although we humbly conceive that the honourable Houses of Parliament in their order for that business aimed at a certainty) this levy is notwithstanding still required, when that for which it is made is taken away. And because neither your petitioner nor her distressed husband are able to procure the same (to make them completely miserable) that little corn which they have been at charges to get in, being but a part of this year's profits, and all that they had left to sustain them, is now seized on in the barns.

Your petitioner humbly craves that you will be willing to take this sad case into your serious consideration, and if haply it be not in your own power, yet that you would out of your Christian

* MS. Eg. 2643, 21.

commiseration, direct her to some way of relief, and she shall pray God to direct you in all your undertakings.

(Endorsed, 2 September, 1643.) *

[Stephen Withers was sequestered from Sheering and Kelvedon Hatch. He was dead by September 1650.]

(6) In behalf of John Hansley of Paglesham.†

Noble Sir,

I recommend to your consideration the condition of Mr. Hansley, minister of Paglesham, of whom twenty pounds are required for the 20th part of his estate, which I beleeve would not have bin done yf hee and his estate had bin well knowne. For I thinke he hath made a different expression from other B.'s chaplaynes, having given much of a little for ye parlement's use ; wh. may well free him from undergoing the Notion of a Malignant. Besides I have reason to thinke him poore, & that (without borrowing) the fifth part of £20. is more than he is truly owner of beyond his debts.

My request is, that it would please you so to make these particulars knowne to ye Committee, that hee may have all just relaxation, (having a wife and child), for wh. you shall further oblige,

Your very faithfull servant,

Sept. 8, 1643.

J. [?] Rous.

I desire that my service may be presented to yr vertuous Lady.

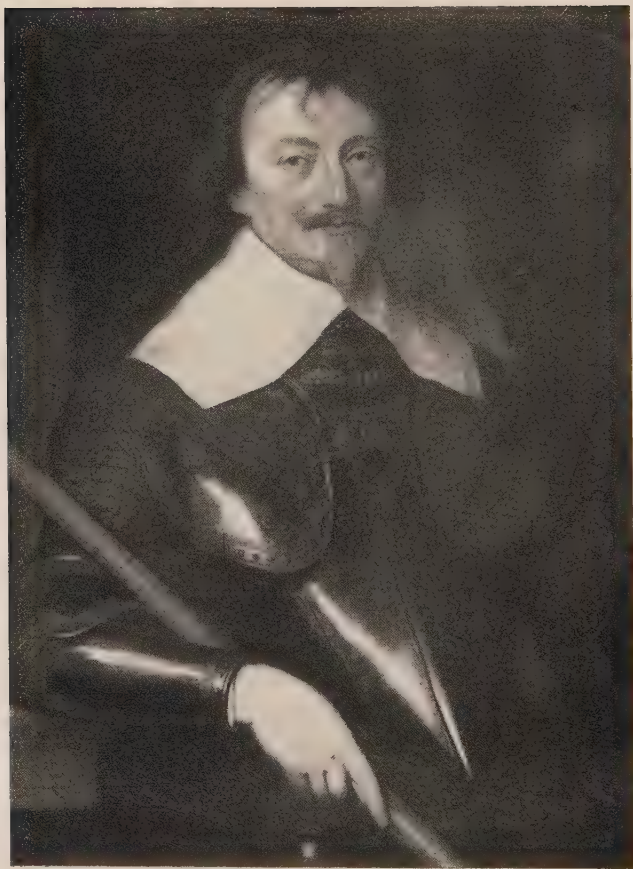
[Hansley, presented to the living in 1641, held it throughout the Troubles, till his death in 1666. He is favourably mentioned also in Add. MSS, 15671, 121 (June 22, 1647): "Mr. Anslow Archdeacon of Colchester, is no delinquent but a godly and orthodox divine, and well affected to the Parliament." This entry shows that Walker is right in making him collated to the Archdeaconry on the death of his predecessor, Shute, in 1643 ; Newcourt puts the appointment after the Restoration. Though keeping Paglesham he had to resign St. Christopher-le-Stocks and apparently also Albury, Surrey. Walker says he was a man of very meek and sweet temper.]

C. ESSEX AND THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

Essex was well represented in the "Westminster Assembly of Divines." Besides three of the components of "Smectymnuus,"

* MS. Eg. 2647, 213.

† MS. Eg. 2647, 233.



Sir ROBERT RICH, 2nd EARL OF WARWICK,
1587-1658.

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, 1643.

From a painting by Sir Anthony Van Dyck

(1) Stephen Marshall of Finchingfield, (2) Edmund Calamy late of Rochford, and (3) Matthew Newcomen of Dedham, there were (4) John Gwibon or Gibbon, Vicar of Waltham Abbey 1629-1645 (?); (5) his successor, William Price, 1645-1648 (?), previously of St. Paul's, Covent Garden; (6) Obadiah Sedgwick, Vicar of Coggeshall 1639-1645, then succeeding Price at Covent Garden; (7) Matthias Styles, Rector of Orsett 1641-1652, who had to resign his London living, St. George, Botolph Lane, in 1643, but kept Orsett till his death. Neal names him as one of the active members of the Assembly; but as he is not so named in the list published in 1658, it would seem that he ceased to attend after the early meetings.

There were also several men really belonging to other counties, but then holding sequestrations in Essex: (8) Richard Cleyton, of Shawell, Leicestershire, who held the sequestration of Great Easton 1644-1648; (9) Thomas Micklethwaite of Cherryburton, Yorkshire, who held the sequestration of White Roothing from 1643 to 1645, when he returned to Yorkshire. Perhaps Henry Wilkinson, afterwards Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, who held the sequestration of Epping, 1643-1648, may have been another member; but more probably he is distinct from the two Henry Wilkinsons who were members. William Bridge of Yarmouth, another member, had once been Town Lecturer of Colchester.

Cleyton and Newcomen sign the "Essex Testimony," May 1648, with the reservation of so much as refers to the Assembly, of which they, as its members, feel not qualified to judge. Wilkinson signs without any such reservation, which suggests that he was not a member. Marshall, Price and Styles do not sign; the other members were no longer living in Essex.

The Assembly consisted of 121 divines in all (not, however, all at the same time), besides a sprinkling of laymen, both peers and commoners. Among these are the Earls of Warwick and Manchester, Sir Thomas Barrington, and, on his death, Sir William Masham.

The general tone of the Assembly was Presbyterian; a small number of moderate Episcopalians (non-Laudians) were nominated, but most of these never attended; whereas the Independents and the Scotch Commissioners had influence out of all proportion to their numbers. The Assembly met first on July 1, 1643, and continued till March 25, 1652, though latterly it became practically only a Committee for the examination of ministers recommended for livings.

The most permanent work of the Assembly is the Confession of Faith, which was for a long time the standard of doctrine not only in the Scottish churches, but also among English Nonconformists; and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. There is much valuable matter in these, even if we do not follow them in their Calvinism. Less permanent was the Directory, the book drawn up to replace the Book of Common Prayer. It supplied material for addresses or prayers, without binding to the use of the actual words given, provided the order be followed.

D. THE PROTESTATION, VOW AND COVENANT, SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, ETC.

These are grouped together, in spite of their varying dates, because of their general similarity along with specific development. They are still found in some Parish Registers—see below.

For the occasion of the Protestation of 1641, see Gardiner, *History of England*, IX, 352. The Bill of Attainder against Strafford was not yet accepted by the Lords; there were plots to release him and to overcome the Parliament; on the other hand the Houses that day (May 3, 1641) were beset by a crowd of respectable citizens calling for his execution. Pym prepared an appeal to the nation; this was approved by the House. This Protestation, which on the one hand showed what its signatories stood for, and on the other displayed their numbers and strength, was the result.

The Essex parish registers where this is found include those of Ashingdon, Barnston, Great Bentley, Boreham, Childerditch, Dengie, Kelvedon Hatch, Great Stambridge, Wanstead, Wormingford. Thus it is found in all parts except N. and N.W. (At Boreham and Dengie the signatures are copies.)

In some cases the Protestation is worded in the singular; in others in the plural; *e.g.*, at Barnston it runs:

July the 11, A.D. 1641.

WE the Inhabitants of Barnston in the Countye of Essex havinge severally in the presence of Almighty God promised vowed and protested to maintain and defend as far as Lawfully we may with our lives powers and estate the true reformed Protestant Religion expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England against all Popery and Popishe Innovations within this Realme contrarie to the same Doctrine And accordinge to our dutye of Allegence to his majesties royall Person, Honoure and estate. As also the Power and Privileges of Parlimente, the Lawfull Rightes and Libertyes of the Subject, and every Person that maketh this Protestation in what soever he shall do in the Lawfull pursuance of the same. And to our power and as far as Lawfully we may we will oppose and by all good wayes and meanes endeavour

to bringe to condigne punishment all such as shall either by Force, Practice, Councells, Plotts, Conspiracyes, or otherwise do anything to the contrary of any thinge in this presente Protestation contained. And further that we shall in all just and honourable wayes endeavour to preserve the union and peace betweene the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Irelande, and we shall neither for love feare or other respect relinquish this Promise Vow and Protestation, and thereunto have sett our hands the day and year above written.

Essex Review, XXV, 60; see also p. 59: XXVI, 92 (Childerditch taken January 23, 1641-2); and Lysons' *Environs of London* (Wanstead). At Kelvedon Hatch it was apparently taken twice over, the second time March 1642.

There was great difficulty about the Protestation in some places, *e.g.* High Ongar. One of the charges against the Rector, Josiah Tomlinson, was that he delayed reading it, would not let Mr. Lavender, the curate, read it, finally after pressure bade the sexton read it, and when at last he did read it, said he had no commandment to enjoin any to take it. Lavender's name heads the signatures at Kelvedon Hatch, where he was also curate.

We have incidental notices of it at Chelmsford and Radwinter. In both cases the Puritans put their own construction on it as forbidding "the ceremonies."

The Vow of 1643 was ordered on the discovery of "Waller's Plot." It was at first pressed vigorously, but afterwards let drop, as nothing short of the "Solemn League and Covenant" could satisfy the Scots. It is much more rare. It is noticed by Josselin at Earls Colne. The Barnston copy gives the long preamble about the discovery of the Plot, and as before gives the "Vow and Covenant" in the plural (13 July, 1643). That at Dengie, where it was taken 26 July, 1643, gives it in the singular.*

I., A.B.; In humility and reverence of the Divine Majesty, declare my Hartie sorrow for my own sinn and the sinns of this nation which have deserved the calamities and judgments that now lie upon it. And my true Intention is by God's grace to endeavour the amendment of my own wayes. And that I do abhor and detest the wicked and treacherous design lately discovered, and that I never gave nor will give my assent to the execution thereof, but will according to my power and vocation oppose and resist the same and all others of a like nature. And in case any other design shall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery as I shall conceive may best conduce to the preventing thereof. And whereas I doe in my conscience

* *Essex Review*: XXXII, 34.

believe that the forces raised by ye two Houses of Parliament are raised and continued for [their] just defence and for the defence of ye true Protestant Religion and Liberties of ye subject against ye Forces raised by the King, I doe heer in the presence of Almighty God declare vow and covenant that I will according to my power and vocation assist the forces raised and continued by bothe Houses of Parliament against the fforces raised [by] the King without their consent. And will likewise assist all other persons that will take this oath in what they shall doe in pursuance thereof. And will not directly or indirectly adhere unto nor shall willingly assist the forces raised by the King without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. And this vow and covenant I make in the presence of Almighty God the Searcher of all hearts with a true intention to perform the same. As I shall answer at the great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

Under this the Restoration rector has written : " Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft."

This Register includes :

(1) Note of taking of the Protestation 7 Sept., 1641, by 22 parishioners. The text is not given and the names are not original signatures. (So at Boreham.)

(2) The Vow, 26 July, 1643, as above. There are no signatures ; they were probably on the next leaf, now missing.

(3) The names of all those who have taken the Vow and Covenant in the parish of Dengye, 16 March An. Dom. 1643 (= 1644). This is obviously the " Solemn League and Covenant," but the text is not given. There are 28 names of subscribers, but only about 6 can write their names.

At Prittwell are :

(1) The Vow, the printed form being first inserted, with 150 signatures.

(2) The League and Covenant, written in full, with about 160 signatures ; taken 17 March 1643 (*i.e.*, 1643-4). At the close of each list the note has been added, " All Roundhead Villains." Also a protest against the conduct of the Army, January 1649.

All three documents appear at Ashingdon—the Protestation, the Vow (taken 26 July 1643) and the League and Covenant, all with signatures. But the Protestation is very much rubbed and hardly legible. The Vow is illegible in places ; it has about 18 signatures. The text of the League and Covenant is clear, but the signatures, apparently between 40 and 50 in number, are very hard to read.

On the opposite page are the following lines, whose authorship and date I do not know :

What more ? Vow, Covenant and Protestation,
 All to maintaine ye Church and English Nation,
 A Threefold coard sure is not easilie broaken
 For soe ye wyse-man hath divinelie spoaken.
 But all in vaine : men's hearts with guile are fraught,
 Great ones break through, small fishes they are caught ;
 Three Nations thus are twisted all in one ;
 Three Nations thus are three times thrice undone.

These documents probably occur also in other registers unknown to me.

For the Solemn League and Covenant, see Gee & Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, p. 569. It was drawn up in Scotland, but received some slight amendment in England ; was taken by Parliament in the autumn of 1643, and on 5 February 1644 was universally imposed on all Englishmen over eighteen years of age. It was the price demanded by the Scots for their help against the King. Omitting the preamble it runs thus :

I. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies ; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches ; and we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship and catechizing, that we and our posterity after us, may as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues ; and that the Lord may be one and His name one in the three kingdoms.

III. We shall with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

IV. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to the league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment as the degree of their offence shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath lately been concluded and settled by both Parliaments : we shall each one of us, according to our places and interests, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof in manner expressed in the precedent article.

VI. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religious liberty and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant in the maintaining and pursuing thereof ; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifference or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerns the glory of God, the good of the kingdom, and the honour of the King ; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever ; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known,

that it may be timely prevented or removed ; all which we shall do as in the sight of God."

[A long confession of sinfulness and humiliation follows.]
The conclusion is :

" This covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed ; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be a deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to the Christian Churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of anti-Christian tyranny, to join in the same, or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths."

Notwithstanding the religious tone of this conclusion, Fuller records that some one having counted the words of the Covenant apart from the preamble and conclusion, found that they amounted to 666, the number of the Beast ! Fuller however adds that in his opinion whoever verifies this will appear as much at leisure, alias as idle, as he who originally calculated it !

The Covenant was publicly taken at Romford by all those holding any office—Deputy-Lieutenants, Committee-men, Clergy, High Constables, Churchwardens, etc.—16 March, 1643 4. Richard Lee, Vicar of Walthamstow, preached on the occasion ; his sermon was so appreciated that he received plate to the value of £5.

In Prittlewell Parish Register the Solemn League and Covenant is followed by the following protest against the proceedings and proposals of the Army, 1648-9. It will be seen by both date and contents that it was drawn up after the House of Commons had been " purged " by Colonel Pride ; while the King's Trial was going on ; and when the proposals of the " Agreement of the People " were generally known, though it was not finally adopted till January 15, and presented to the House of Commons on the 20th. (See Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 359.)

This Protest may be regarded as typical of the general Presbyterian attitude towards these proceedings and proposals. It is quite distinct from the *Judgment of Ministers in the Province of London*, January 17.

“The Subscribers of the Covenant aforegoing did January the 14, 1648, enter their dissent from the proceedings of the Army together with the remaining members of the House of Commons in relation to Religion, King, Parliament, and Kingdom.

In conscience of our duty to God and man, and in performance of our Vow Protestation and Solemn Covenant, being called thereunto by the late Remonstrance and following Declaration, We hold ourselves obliged to be not altogether silent and wanting in ought we can lawfully say to hold off impending ruin from King Parliament and Kingdom, now brought to the utmost crisis of danger, the preservation whereof ought to be more dear to us than our lives estates or anything of this world which men count precious. We have therefore with serious and composed minds deliberated upon what the Army hold forth in their Remonstrance and Declaration. And considering their late proceedings in pursuance thereof we take the boldness to give this result of our thoughts.

(1) We neither do nor can approve of the violence and force done by some of the Army upon the House of Commons in surprising imprisoning and excluding so many of the members thereof, going to the House to perform their duties; being as we conceive not only a great violation of the privileges of Parliament, but also of a divine precept given to soldiers by that burning and shining light, Luke III, 14: Do violence to no man or put no man in fear.

(2) Neither can we approve of the present actings of the Army with the remaining members of the Commons in proceeding against the King as a Traitor, it being contrary to the Parliament's Remonstrance and Declaration published in the name and by the authority of one or both Houses, professing both to the King himself, Kingdom and foreign states, that they never intended the least hurt injury or violence to the King's person, crown, dignity, or posterity, contrary to our Protestations, Oaths and Covenants, to the thoughts and expectations of so many thousands more who had engaged in the Parliament's cause; and being not only unwarrantable in itself by any divine example or precept, but full of sad consequences not only to all the three Kingdoms, but also the protestant religion and professors of it, to make both it and them an abhorring and hissing to all nations, especially when they shall hear of his condescending and yielding to the desires of the Parliament, granting greater advantages and securities for the settlement and peace of this bleeding kingdom and preservation of the true protestant religion and our liberties than hath been obtained in times past of any of his predecessors.

(3) Neither can we assent to the present intentions and endeavours to alter the frame and constitution of the Civil Government of the Kingdom by King, Lords and Commons; it being contrary to our Solemn League and Covenant, to the Parliament's former declaration, and the way to introduce at least for a long time arbitrary government, and to bring the freeborn subjects of England under martial law, which is not suitable to our English spirits. Nor is this change consonant with the counsel of Solomon the wise king, Prov. XXIV, 21-22: "My son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them which are given to change; for their calamity shall arise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of them both?"

(4) Neither can we approve of the machinations to extirpate the learned able and godly ministry of the Gospel, and to introduce the ignorant and unlearned, not unlike Jeroboam's priesthood who, 1 Kings XII, 31, made priests of the lowest of the people, and whosoever would might consecrate himself, 2 Chron. XIII, 9, because upon it will unavoidably follow a famine of the Word of God and gross darkness upon the people and an inundation of damnable errors and drowning of many precious souls in perdition (the blind leading the blind), and reproach and ignominy upon the nation.

(5) We can by no means consent to that intolerable Toleration and boundless liberty for every man to profess whatsoever faith he fancieth except popery and prelacy; which though we mention last, yet we are sensible that it is the first in eye and intention of too many, and that their aim in proceeding against the King, dissipating the Parliament, altering the Civil Government, making void wholesome laws, clipping the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, and extirpating the learned ministry of the Gospel, is the paving a way for the bringing in of this great engine against the truth of God and power of godliness. And that hence comes the pretended necessity which is made so much use of to justify the present walking in untrodden paths; which licentious liberty is libertinism and not Christian liberty, which is a liberty to choose the truth only; and contrary to the Solemn Covenant by which men are engaged in their several vocations (magistrates in theirs, ministers in theirs, etc.) to endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, errors, heresy, schism, and all that is contrary to sound doctrine; in which respect we cannot but wonder even to astonishment, that men professing godliness should appear for a toleration of all but Popery and Prelacy.

And now to testify the sincerity of our intentions, that our designs and desires in this dissent is so to discharge our conscience, perform our Covenant, testify our loyalty to King and Parliament, our natural affection to our country and posterity, to wash our hands from the guilt of those high sins which have been lately publicly acted and are still acting in the Kingdom ; and from being accessory to these future calamities which are now apparently and dangerously clouding round about us, we have hereunto subscribed our names."

[No signatures, however, follow.]

THE "ESSEX TESTIMONY" AND "WATCHWORD."

Both the "Essex Testimony," 1648, and the "Essex Watchmen's Watchword," 1649, were drawn up in support of similar statements by London ministers.

The full title of the "Essex Testimony" is: "A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex to the Truth of Jesus Christ and to the Solemn League and Covenant, as also against the Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of these times and the Toleration of them." It is addressed to the "Ministers of the Gospel in the Province of London, Subscribers to the late Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ." It is as its title shows a manifesto of orthodox Presbyterianism, strongly approving the work of the Westminster Assembly and equally strongly opposed to the full toleration of sectaries. It appeared in May 1648: "Printed by A.M. for Tho. Underhill at the Bible in Woodstreet."

They give ten reasons for this manifesto ; these include :

(1) The hearty zeal we owe to the glory of our gracious God, so mightily working for us his unworthy ministers and people in this land, by stopping the deluge of Popery, Superstition and Profaneness ready of late years by a prevailing faction to have overwhelmed us.

(2) The Conscience of that Sacred Bond of our Solemn League and Covenant thereupon taken against Popery, Superstition, Heresy, Schism and Profaneness.

(3) The sad observation of that unthankful requital made for such transcendent mercies by so many more violent evils ever since, not only to break out into lawless liberty and licentiousness, but to contend for the sufferance and tolerance of many dangerous things in matters of doctrine and worship.

They therefore declare and testify :

(1) That the Confession of Faith, Directory for Worship and Humble Advice for Church Government, presented by the Reverend Assembly of Divines to the Honourable Parliament are (as we conceive) so agreeable to the Word that we cannot but exceedingly bless the name of our God for His presence with that Assembly ; professing our hearty concurrence therein, and cheerful readiness to submit thereto ; resolving likewise to continue humble suitors at the Throne of Grace, that our gracious God in his due time would stir up the Parliament to establish the foresaid Confession of Faith and Advice for Church Government with their Civil Sanction, as they have already the Directory for Worship.

(2) That we look upon our Solemn League and Covenant as a most choice blessing from God to these Churches and Kingdoms so happily united therein ; earnestly entreating the Lord to give us grace that we and all his people may continue faithful therein ; and not to charge upon us, but of His abundant mercy to pardon, wherein ourselves or the Kingdom have anyway therefrom hitherto receded.

(3) That however we judge it most agreeable to Christianity, that tender Consciences of Dissenting Brethren be tenderly dealt with [yet mourning over the spread of Errors and Heresies] we do solemnly and sincerely profess as in the presence of Almighty God the Searcher and Judge of all hearts that from our souls we do utterly detest and abhor, as all former carnal doctrines of Popery, Arminianism and Socinianism, so likewise all the damnable Errors Heresies and Blasphemies of these present evil times, whether of Anti-Scripturists, Familists, Antinomians, Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Anabaptists, or whatever is found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.

It is signed by 129 ministers (Nathaniel Hewetson of Woodham Mortimer signing *twice*). In addition two members of the Assembly of Divines (Richard Cleyton and Matthew Newcomen) fully concur with all except as to matters which have passed the Assembly, where it is not fit for them to make any further attestations.

The signatures come from all over the county. John Bedle of Barnston heads the list, followed by twelve others from Dunmow Hundred ; next follow a number from Rochford. There are a few notable absentees, especially Samuel Collins of Braintree, Samuel Hoard of Moreton, Simon Lynch of North Weald.

The *Essex Watchmen's Watchword* is a longer document, (12 pp.

apart from signatures, as against 4), but much less extensively signed. This is no doubt due largely to haste; it was drawn up after the King's execution, yet the *Imprimatur* is dated Feb. 15, 1648 (*i.e.*, 8/9). Apparently the west or north-west of the county was not canvassed; there are no signatures from the Hundreds of Clavering, Uttlesford, Dunmow, Harlow, all strongly represented on the *Testimony*. But others, like Josselin, were probably kept from signing by the marked political element. The total number of signatures is only sixty-three, of whom forty-six signed the *Testimony*, the remaining seventeen being new; these include Samuel Collins and Daniel Rogers, Lecturer of Wethersfield. It was printed for Ralph Smith at the sign of the Bible near the Royal Exchange. It justifies its name by three texts printed in full on the title-page—Ezekiel III, 17, XXXIII, 6, 2 Timothy IV, 5.

The signatories are bitterly disappointed at the final issue of the War and write partly to defend their action in it against Royalist attacks. Also they are strongly opposed to the proposals in the *Agreement of the People*, which they expect will be put forward for general subscription.

They give the causes, origin, and avowed object of the War, very fairly from a Parliamentary point of view; adding "We engaged in this Cause, being called to it by a lawful authority, the Two Houses of Parliament being the ordinance of God unto this nation, for the preventing of tyranny and the regulating of the exorbitancies of royal power, and being convinced in our judgment both of the equity and the necessity of the Parliament's defensive arms, and persuaded of the loyalty of their intentions towards His Majesty's Person, Posterity and Crown, and being fully assured of our own, having this witness in heaven and in our own hearts, that that calamity which hath now befallen the King and threatens his Posterity was exceeding far from our designs or desires. . . . We appeal to God, the searcher of all hearts, to whom we must give account of all our ways, That these were the grounds of our first engagement, these our intentions in it. But O how amazed are we to behold the sad issue the war is now driven into! To see a war begun for *The Defence of Religion* likely to end in *The Ruin of Religion*; a war begun for the *Defence of the King* even ending in the *Death of the King*; a war begun for the *Defence of the Parliament* ending in the *Violation of the present and Mutilation of future Parliaments*, both in point of election and constitution. This is a Lamentation, and shall be for a Lamentation. Ezekiel XIX, 14."

The rest of the *Watchword* deals with the *Agreement of the People*, which it is expected will be put forward for general signature. "As we ourselves cannot, so it doth not appear unto us how any else should without sin sign this Agreement, so manifestly, directly, necessarily tending to the alteration of the ancient and well founded Government of the Kingdom and, which our hearts tremble to think of, the subversion of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, which are two of the richest blessings that the God of Heaven did ever bestow upon any People, and which have made us, even us, the Glory of Nations and the Envy of our Enemies ; but the deprivation or depravation of these, what will it render us ?

The whole first part, branched out into eight articles, tends too far to a tearing up of our ancient Parliamentary Government. . . .

Although this Agreement saith "*It is intended that Christian Religion be held forth as the public Profession in this Nation*" . . . yet it does not say by whom it is intended nor doth it tell us what is that Christian Religion which is thus intended to be held forth : whereas they know little that do not know that all errors and sects that are or have been in the Church of Christ, since the Apostles' days, do all lay claim to the title of *Christian Religion*."

The Agreement speaks of care for instructing of people in a public way, but the words "so it be not compulsive" do certainly undermine not only the power of the Civil Magistrates but even of Family-Governors in the things of God or of his worship. . . .

It is in the next branch expressly cautioned, *That to the Public Profession so held forth none may be compelled by penalties or otherwise, but only may be endeavoured to be won by sound doctrine and the example of a good conversation.*

This is to desire that men may have liberty to apostatize and cast off the profession of the Christian Faith . . . turn Turks or Jews or Arians or Atheists.

The following branch requires *That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, however differing in judgment from the doctrine worship and discipline publicly held forth as aforesaid, shall not be restrained from but protected in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion according to their conscience in any place (except such as shall be set apart for public worship, where we provide not for them except they have leave), so that they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or to actual disturbance of the public Peace on their part. Nevertheless it is not intended to be hereby provided that this Liberty shall necessarily extend to Popery or Prelacy.*

The *Watchmen* criticize this most severely, pointing out that it leaves an opening for any sect of professing Christians, however blasphemous. . . . "Let them vent never so much blasphemy against God, treason against the State, let them sow the seeds of never so much sedition and lay the foundations of never so much disturbance, yet they forfeit not this liberty, unless there be an actual disturbance, nor then neither except it be on their parts and they strike the first blow. Is then the civil injury of others a greater sin than the injury of the Eternal Majesty of God, than blasphemy against Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, than infamy to the Gospel, than scandal to the Churches?" Under cover of the abolition of all laws against this liberty, Jesuits and Seminary Priests may pour into the country.

They have written this not from any desire to hinder the peace and settlement of this poor nation, for their own interest of power and advantage; much less with any intention of inciting to forcible opposition without or against lawful authority; but "to discharge the duty of our place, by giving you this public and joint warning of those snares we see prepared for you, to take you off from all those Oaths, Vows, Covenants wherein you stand engaged to maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and the Ancient Government of the Kingdom. . . . If this Agreement be contrary to your Covenant, as without all peradventure it is . . . then let us in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ beseech you, as you tender your present and eternal good and the good of your dear posterities, yea in His Name we require and charge you, as you would not be found guilty of all the errors, idolatry, blasphemy, wickedness, irreligion, that by this floodgate if once opened will break in upon this nation, have nothing to do with this sinful ensnaring *Agreement*, avoid it, fly from it as from the surest if not only engine Sathan hath now left him for the demolishing of the beauty, yea being, of Religion; and the advancing of Popery, Error, Blasphemy, and whatever may make us an abhorring to God, a hissing to men, and an execration to all the churches of Jesus Christ."

These documents are of value (1) as showing the attitude of Presbyterians towards Toleration; (2) as showing what ministers held strongly to Presbyterianism in 1648; (3) as showing—though imperfectly—the opposition to the policy of the Army in 1649.

The following sign the "Essex Testimony." For convenience of reference, I have arranged them in Hundreds, following in the main the original order, but arranging isolated signatures with

their neighbours. I have ignored such differences as "minister" or "preacher." (W) denotes that the same minister signed also the "Watchword"; those signing it but not the *Testimony* are subjoined.

DUNMOW AND FRESHWELL HUNDREDS :

John Bedle, Barnston.
 William Sandford, White Roding.
 John Smith, Great Dunmow.
 Francis Hill, High Roding.
 Henry Bates, Mashbury.
 Samuel Noel, Little Canfield.
 Francis Bridge, Great Canfield.
 Martin Alderson, Little Dunmow.
 Samuel Newton, Great Sampford.
 Isaac Pennington, Little Sampford.
 James Parkin, Thaxted.
 Elisha Pratt, Lindsell.
 Anthony Nicholas, Willingale Spain.

ROCHFORD HUNDRED :

John Parkhurst, South Shoebury (W).
 Nicholas Beard, Rochford (W).
 John Gibson, Ashingdon (W).
 Thomas Peck, Prittlewell (W).
 John Argor, Leigh (W).
 Abraham Caley, Rayleigh (W).
 Samuel Purcas, Sutton.
 Thomas Oresby, Hawkwell (W).
 Josiah Church, Southchurch (W).
 John Mann, Rawreth (W).
 James Norris, Canewdon (W).
 Christopher Scott, Great Wakering (W).

HARLOW AND WALTHAM HUNDREDS :

William Hales, Great Hallingbury.
 John Yardley, Sheering.
 Edw. Spranger, Harlow.
 Jeremiah Dyke, Great Parndon.
 Thomas Cramphorne, Netteswell.
 Henry Wilkinson, Epping.
 John Harper, Nazeing.
 Thomas Denn, Latton.
 John Wilson, Little Hallingbury.

HINCKFORD HUNDRED :

John Borradaile, Steeple Bumpsted.
 John Pannell, Stambourne.
 John Clark, Tilbury (W).
 Ralph Hillis, Ridgewell.
 Peter Sainthill, Ovington.
 John Gent, Birdbrook.

Edmund Bruer, Castle Hedingham (W).
 Robert Chadsley, Little Yeldham (W).
 Robert Fisher, Belchamp St. Paul.
 Zach. Fitch, Twinsted (W).
 John Chamberlain, Bulmer.
 Nathaniel Ranew, Felsted (W).
 John Overed, Toppesfield (W).
 Jeremy Benton, Finchingfield.
 Edward Thomas, Belchamp Otten.
 Thomas Dearsley, Wickham St. Paul (W).

CHELMSFORD HUNDRED :

John Harrison, Little Waltham.
 Isaiah Sutcliffe, Rettendon.
 Henry Ham, Much Waltham.
 Abiel Rathband, Writtle (W).
 Samuel Smith, Fryerning.
 John Willis, Ingatestone.
 William Rogers, Margaretting.
 Samuel Smith, Sandon.
 Christopher Wragge, Great Baddow.
 James Torye, East Hanningfield.
 John Wilson, Little Baddow (W).

CLAVERING AND TUTTLESFORD HUNDREDS :

James Willet, Little Chishall.
 Rowland Greenwood, Wimbish.
 John More, Clavering.
 Hugh Glover, Debden.
 William Prime, Elmdon.
 Robert Abbot, Stansted Montfichet.
 George Wilson, Elsenham.

BECONTREE HUNDRED, WITH HAVERING :

John Wells, Great Ilford.
 Humphrey Maddison, Wanstead.
 Samuel Austin, Romford.
 John Bowyer, Dagenham (W).
 John Wheatley, Havering

ONGAR HUNDRED :

Philip Sanders, Magdalen Laver (W).
 John Lavender, High Ongar (W).
 John Wood, Abbess Roding.
 Gamaliel Carr, Lambourne.
 Edmund Bruer, Fyfield.
 John Siday, Beauchamp Roding.
 Thomas King, High Laver.
 George Bound, Kelvedon (W).
 Edward Benthall, Stapleford Abbots.
 Thomas Horrocks, Stapleford Tawney (W).
 Walter Wells, Theydon Mount.

Edward Whiston, Norton Mandeville (W).

Edward Greene, Shelley.

John Ferriby, Theydon Garnon (W).

CHAFFORD HUNDRED :

Daniel Duckfield, Childerditch (W).

Edward Ford, Great Warley (W).

Marmaduke James, Upminster (W).

Daniel Latham, Stifford (W).

Nicholas Folkingham [South Weald].

Thomas Latham [Brentwood School].

LEXDEN HUNDRED :

George Smith, Dedham (W).

John Hubbard, Boxted (W).

Thomas Lawson, Doniland.

Ralph Josselin, Earl's Colne.

Samuel Rogers, Great Tey.

Nathaniel Bugg, Great Horkesley (W).

John Ferrar, Langham.

John White, Wormingford.

Timothy Rogers, Chappel.

Richard Pulley, Fordham.

Gamaliel Carr, Aldham.

Thomas Brackley, Colne Engaine.

BARSTABLE HUNDRED :

Samuel Bridge, Great Burstead (W).

Walter Taylor, Hutton (W).

James Moore, Laindon (W).

Francis Scott, Fobbing.

Jonathan Hoyle, Corringham.

William How, Dunton (W).

Edward Cliffe, East Horndon.

Richard Cardinal, West Horndon (W).

Nathaniel Ward, Shenfield (W).

John Powell.

Nehemiah Dod, Doddinghurst (W).

COLCHESTER-WINSTREE-TENDRING :

Robert Harmer, Colchester.

Alexander Piggot, Colchester (W).

Gabriel Wyersdale, Lexden.

Robert Tuller, St. James, Colchester.

Francis Onge [Peldon].

Henry Steinner, Bradfield.

DENGIE HUNDRED :

Israel Hewit, Maldon (W).

Nathaniel Hewitson, Woodham Mortimer (W).

John Sherman, Bradwell.

Edmund Sherman, Bradwell.

Nehemiah Holmes, Southminster (W).

Anthony Sammes, Burnham.

William Buckley, Mayland.

The following sign the *Testimony* except to the part concerning the Assembly, of which they are members :

Richard Cleyton, Great Easton.

Matthew Newcomen, Lecturer, Dedham (W).

The following seventeen sign *Watchword*, not *Testimony* :

HINCKFORD :

Daniel Rogers, Lecturer, Wethersfield.

Samuel Collins, Braintree.

John Tharby, Gestingthorpe.

Samuel Aynesworth, Stebbing.

William Smithies, Rayne.

Thomas Clarke, Stisted.

Daniel Weld, Wethersfield.

TENDRING :

John Edes, Lawford.

Robert Cole, Great Oakley.

Nathaniel Carr, Ardleigh.

ONGAR :

Nath. Lacy, Greensted.

Henry Havers, Fyfield.

BARSTABLE AND CHAFFORD :

Thos. Goodwin [South Weald].

Henry Esday, Ingrave.

Edward Clarke, Bowers Gifford.

CHELMSFORD :

Thomas Rotheram, Boreham.

DENGIE :

William Guthrie, Asheldham.

VI. THE SEQUESTRATIONS.

The main sources for a list of Sequestrations are:—

1) "The First Century of Scandalous and Malignant Priests," by John White, 1643.

Out of the hundred, twenty-nine are from Essex (or thirty, if William Fairfax, who lost East Ham as well as St. Peter's, Cornhill, be included). In the great majority of these cases we are unable to check White's account of the grounds of sequestration. In the few cases however where we can check this pamphlet by other information, we find that White's statements are an accurate reflection of the *accusations*. But both here and in other cases

where we know (1) what charges were made and (2) that the charges were found proved, there is no evidence that a verdict of "Guilty" was given on *each* charge; it was probably sufficient if *some* serious charges—especially political ones—were thought sufficiently proved.

All these cases will be found in Davids as well as in Walker. They are as follows:—

PARISH.	MINISTER.
Much Bentley.	Nicholas Lowes.
Chigwell.	Emmanuel Uty, D.D.
Great Chishall.	Thomas King.
Danbury.	Clement Vincent.
Feering.	Robert Senior.
Great Hallingbury.	Edward Thurman.
East Ham.	William Fairfax.
Great Henny.	Charles Forbench.
Much Holland.	Edward Cherry.
Horndon-on-the-Hill.	John Hurt.
Kelvedon Hatch.	Stephen Withers.
St. Lawrence.	Edward Turner.
Manuden.	Samuel Southen.
Matching.	Robert Snell.
West Mersea.	John Woolhouse.
Mountnessing.	Humphry Dawes or Davies.
Mundon.	Thomas Staple.
Black Notley.	Joseph Plum.
Panfield.	Edward Jenkinson.
Much Parndon.	William Osboldston.
Pentlow.	Edward Alston.
Purleigh.	Lawrence Washington.
Stapleford Tawney.	Richard Nicholson.
Takeley.	Thomas Heard.
Little Tey.	Erasmus Laud.
Theydon Garnon.	Nicholas Wright.
Thorpe.	Thomas Darnell.
Tollesbury.	Peter Allen.
Much Totham.	Ambrose Westrop.
Witham.	Francis Wright.

To some of these clergy an exceedingly bad moral character is given. In the case of others, the main charges are political or ecclesiastical, with one of drunkenness or swearing thrown in. In a few cases the only charges are political or ecclesiastical, *e.g.*, against Snell of Matching, Osboldston of Parndon, Jenkinson of Panfield, Wright of Theydon Garnon. It is clear that White's cases are more or less picked. The precise dates of nearly half these sequestrations are not known; those which are known are

spread over the whole of 1643. But in the early part of that year there were a number mentioned in the Journals of Parliament but omitted by White, *e.g.*, Symons of Rayne, Read of Fyfield, Wiborough of Pebmarsh, Weems of Lambourne. Between April 29 and May 23 the House of Lords dealt with eight cases from Essex; White gives only two, one wholly a case of bad morals, the other partially so; the rest, which turn on political and ecclesiastical views, he omits.

Walker, in his "Sufferings of the Clergy," often implies doubt as to the truth of the moral charges. But in only a few cases does he give criticism, confirmation, or denial from his correspondents. These include:—

Cherry, Much Holland.	Character defended; he was chosen to preach the Visitation Sermon soon after the Restoration.
Forbench, Great Henny.	It is admitted that he drank too much and used mild oaths.
Laud, Little Tey.	"No good character."
Senior, Feering.	ditto.
Washington, Purleigh.	Strongly defended. See later.
Westrop, Great Totham.	Nothing serious; but a talkative, maggoty person, especially about women.
Woolhouse, West Mersea.	Treatment deserved; can give no commendation.
Wright, Witham.	Bad reputation.

Thus of eight cases four are not defended and two only partially. Walker's honesty is greater than his prejudices. His authorities are John Warley, Archdeacon of Colchester and Vicar of Witham (Walker MSS. C. II, f. 99, 101),* Henry Ayloffe, J.P. (third son of Sir Benjamin Ayloffe, d. 1708),† Walker MSS. C. III, f. 91, 149, for Washington, Westrop and Wright; John Cole (C. III, f. 178),‡ for Cherry; Alexander Lindsey, Rector of Tolleshunt Major and sequestrator of Much Totham (III, 90) for Westrop; Joshua Reynolds, Fellow of C.C.C., Oxford (III, 99),§ for Forbench.

In one or two other cases Walker repeats a good opinion. Bp. Beveridge of St. Asaph, a successor of Fairfax at St. Peter's, Cornhill, said he was "an honest old gentleman." Vincent of Danbury is called "a worthy divine." Osboldston of Parndon is called by Jeremy Stephens "an excellent person"; but even the Century has nothing to say against his moral character.

* Tatham, John Walker, p. 177.

† Tatham, pp. 213, 217.

‡ 218.

§ 213.

Walker gives at length the case of Symons of Rayne—from *Mercurius Rusticus* and from his own narrative. But no charges other than political were brought against Symons ; perhaps it is for this reason that his name does not occur in the Century though an early case, or perhaps Stephen Marshall's friendship was sufficient to keep his name out of such bad company.

(2) The Journals of both Houses of Parliament, especially the House of Lords. (Full references are given by Dr. Shaw.)

As a rule these record only the fact of the sequestration and to whose use, with the date ; but in a few cases in 1643 they give the charges, sometimes with the names of the witnesses. The full form of sequestration is of this type* : “ Whereas Edward Symons, Clerk, Rector of the Parish Church of Rayne in the County of Essex, hath in his Sermons and otherwise expressed great Malignancy and Opposition against the Parliament and the Powers and Proceedings thereof, affirming ‘ that the Parliament would force the King to comply with the Laws which they shall make, and that they raise a Force against the King, and that they are not to be obeyed though they command according to God, if it be not according to the King’s Command,’ and advised them not to lend any Money, Plate or Horses towards the Raising of Forces for the Parliament ; and pressed his Auditory to believe whatever is set forth in the Declaration published in the King’s Name, because a Divine Sentence is in His Mouth and He cannot err, and that if David’s heart smote him for cutting off Saul’s Garment, what would it have if been he had kept away his Castles, Towns and Ships ? Which the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled taking into Consideration for the better Supply of an able and Godly Man in the said Church, and for the Provision of Fit Maintenance for those that shall officiate therein, do constitute and ordain that Emmanuel Stock, Peter Joscelyne, Richard Bugby, William Chanckley, Henry Joscelyn, Ralph Joscelyn, Edward Hiet, or any Three of them, shall have Power and Authority and hereby are Required to sequester the Parsonage-house and all Tithes Rents and Profits whatsoever of the Parsonage of the said Church, and to appoint Collectors for the getting and securing of them as they in their Discretion shall think fit ; and shall have power to pay the same unto Robert Atkins, Master of Arts, a Godly Learned and Orthodox Divine, who is hereby appointed and required to preach every Lord’s Day, to officiate as Parson

* L. J. v. 635. Mch. 3, 1642-3.

and to take care for the Discharge of the Cure of the said Parish in all the Duties thereof until further Order shall be taken by both Houses of Parliament ; and if any shall refuse to pay unto the said Sequestrators or any Three of them, or to the Collectors appointed by them, any of the Rents Duties or lawful Fees accustomed to be paid, upon Information hereof by the Sequestrators or by any Three of them unto either House of Parliament, the said Lords and Commons do declare that they will proceed against such Refusers according to their several Offences and Contempts."

But as a rule the formal ordinance is not given, only its substance ; *e.g.*, C.J. III, 353 (Dec. 25, 1643), "An Order for sequestring the Parsonage of Much Parndon in the county of Essex, whereof Wm. Osbolston, Doctor in Divinity, is Rector, to the use and Benefit of Jeremy Dike, Master of Arts, a godly learned and orthodox Divine ; who is forthwith to officiate the said Cure as Rector, and to preach diligently to the Parishioners of the said Parish in the Church there, and to receive the Rents and Profits of the said Parsonage, paying all duties to his Majesty, was this Day read and by Vote upon the Question assented unto ; and ordered accordingly."

Cases where the Lords investigated the charges are :—

Shenfield : John Childerley	L.J. VI,21.	April 29, 1643
Stapleford Tawney : Richard Nicholson	VI,21.	April 29, 1643
Witham : Francis Wright	VI,24.	May 1, 1643
Stanford Rivers : John Meredith	VI,33 & 48.	May 6 & 17
South Weald : Samuel Baker	VI,33 & 47.	May 6 & 16
Pebmarsh : Thomas Wiborough	VI,37.	May 9, 1643
Fyfield : Dr. Reade	VI,37 & 42.	May 9 & 11
Lambourne : Dr. Weemes	VI,58.	May 23
St. Botolph, Bishopsgate : Nehemiah Rogers	VI,48 & 59.	May 16 & 23

(3) The MSS. of the "Committee for Plundered Ministers" in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

These are unfortunately not extant for the period to which most of the sequestrations belong, that before Feb. 1644-5 ; they are nearly complete later. But while only a few sequestrations took place during the period they cover, we find mention of numbers, *e.g.*, when a new minister was to be put into one, or when the wife of a sequestered minister claimed her "fifth part" or had trouble in getting it—a common case. But we only occasionally get the date of the sequestration, and the grounds are hardly ever given, and then vaguely (*e.g.*, "for scandalous life").

(4) The books of Local Committees.

It is very unfortunate that some books which were still in existence in the eighteenth century, being used by Zachary Grey and William Cole, should since have disappeared.

B.M. Add. MSS. 5829 is a copy by Cole of a MS. of the Earl of Manchester's Essex Committee for Scandalous Ministers. It contains the *Depositions* against twenty-seven of these, but no statement as to the *issue* in any case:—

Aldham.	Daniel Falconer.
Alphamstone.	Rowland Steward.
Ashen.	William Jones.
Great Bardfield.	John Mowe (C).
Belchamp St. Paul.	Robert Fisher.
Belchamp Otten.	Joseph Bird.
West Bergholt.	Gregory Holland.
Bradwell by Coggeshall.	George Crackenthorpe.
Mount Bures.	John Simpson.
Colchester : St. Giles.	Samuel Cock.
St. Mary Magdalene.	Gabriel Honifold.
Holy Trinity.	Thomas Newcomen.
White Colne.	Robert Guyon.
Debden.	Thomas Wilson.
Faulkbourn.	Edward Strutt.
Gosfield.	John Crosse.
Greenstead by Colchester.	John Jarvis.
Sible Hedingham.	John Jegon.
Lexden.	Stephen Nettles.
Great Maplestead.	Edward Shepherd.
Little Maplestead.	John Chamberlain.
Middleton.	William Frost.
Great Saling.	John Lake.
Stisted.	Christopher Newstead.
Ulting.	William Hull.
Wickham St. Paul's	Timothy Clay.
Great (? Little) Yeldham.	William Evett.

Cole adds briefly some twenty names from Zachary Grey's notes in his copy of Walker. Some have already been mentioned, (*e.g.*, Steward of Alphamstone, Vincent of Danbury, Strutt of Faulkbourn, Crosse of Gosfield, Clay of Wickham, Evett of Yeldham); but there are sixteen new names:—

Arkesden.	George Beardsall.
Chignal St. James.	John Fenwick.
Chingford.	John Russell.
Canewdon.	Eliseus Burges.
Dagenham.	Charles Trew.
South Fambridge.	John Vicars.

Fingringhoe.	George (?) Long.
Foulness.	Roshobery Dove.
Fryerning.	John Peyton.
Heydon and Hadstock.	Edward Young, D.D.
Ditto (curate)	Thomas Punter (Panter).
Magdalen Laver.	Francis (?) Kindleton.
South Ockendon.	Francis Gouldman.
Peldon.	John Cornelius.
Runwell.	Simon Lynch.
Southchurch.	Walter Holmes.

It must not, however, be assumed that sequestration was the result in all cases, though it certainly was in the great majority. Mowe of Bardfield, Fisher of Belchamp, Fenwick of Chignal, Jegon of Sible Hedingham, Hull of Ulting, were still there in 1650. There is some obscurity about Jones of Ashen, Holland of West Bergholt, and Simpson of Mount Bures; Young lost Hadstock, but kept Heydon; Long kept Clacton, losing Fingringhoe. All other cases clearly ended in sequestration.

MS. J. Walker, C. VI, f. 58, shows that the Earl of Manchester issued *two* commissions on 24 February 1643-4 for the sequestration of scandalous ministers in Essex.

The first is to Sir Thomas Honeywood, Henry Mildmay, Oliver Raymond, Richard Harlackenden, John Meade, Arthur Barnardiston, Thomas Cooke, John Elliston, Robert Crane, and Henry Barrington. The second was to Sir Henry Holcroft, Sir Richard Everard, William Masham, Timothy Middleton, John Wright, Edward Berkhead, Cary Mildmay, William Attwood, Robert Calthorpe, and Robert Maidstone: The first-named are all in the north of the county, except Henry Mildmay, presumably of Graces, Little Baddow; the second are from the south, west, or centre, except, apparently, Maidstone.

MS. J. Walker, C. VI, ff. 53 and 57, gives reasons for the ejection of various clergy, with the value of their livings, their private incomes, and whether wife and children. These latter points are clearly as a guide to the granting of "fifth parts."

The names and grounds of ejection are :—

Fennick, John : Chignal St. James.	Scandalous life.
Lynce, Symon : Runwell.	Scandalous life and doctrine.
Gouldman, Francis : South Ockendon	Scandalous life and doctrine.
Russell, John : Chingford.	Scandalous life and doctrine.
Dove, Raboshire : Foulness.	Scandalous life and doctrine.
Burges, Eliseus : Canewdon.	Pluralist and non-resident.
Vicars : South Fambridge.	Scandalous doctrine.
Holmes : Southchurch.	Pluralist and non-resident.

Kindleton, Francis : Magdalen Laver.	Scandalous doctrine.
Evett, William : Yeldham Parva.	Leaving his cure destitute above a year.
Strutt, Edward : Faulkbourn.	Disaffected to Parliament and a profane swearer.
Frost, William : Middleton .	Scandalous life and an enemy to the proceedings of Parliament.
Newstead, Christopher : Stisted.	Scandalous life and doctrine.
Crackenthorpe, George : Bradwell.	A common tippler and frequently drunk.
Long, Joseph : Fingringhoe.	Scandalous life and hath neglected his cure.
Clay, Timothy : Wickham.	Scandalous life.
Steward, Rowland : Alphamstone.	Scandalous life.
Wilson, Dr. : Debden, Wisbech, Fulbourne.	Pluralist and disaffected to the Parliament.
Crosse, John : Gosfield.	Scandalous life and doctrine.
Young, Dr. Edward : Heydon and Hadstock.	Pluralist and non-resident.
Panter, Tho : Curate of Hadstock.	

The depositions against Evett, Strutt, Frost, Newstead, Long, Crackenthorpe, Clay, Steward, Wilson, Crosse, Young (and Panter) are given by Cole (Add. MSS. 5829), all these being dealt with by the Northern Committee. For the rest, we have full depositions against Gouldman (Baker MS.), and some notes from Grey (above) on Lynch, Fenwick, Gouldman, Russell, Dove, Burges, Vicars, Holmes, Kindleton.

By comparison, we can in some cases get at the real ground of sequestration out of the various charges brought ; from others, we can see the vagueness of " scandalous life," which might, as in the case of Gouldman, mean simply disaffection and neglect of the fast-days appointed by Parliament ; or might, as in other cases, *e.g.*, Frost, imply drunkenness. The subsequent history of Fenwick, apparently restored, or of Lynch, suggest that " scandalous life " in their cases did not mean much.

(5) The record of the Parochial Inquisition of 1640 frequently mentions sequestration, and in some cases, notably in the Dunmow division, the date. In other cases sequestration can be inferred with practical certainty, when it is said that the present minister is " appointed by the Committee of Plundered Ministers " or " by a Committee of Parliament," or the like. In fact, outside the Colchester division, for which the Lambeth copies of returns are very compressed, we can hence gather or confirm almost all sequestrations where the sequestered minister was still living.

Take, for instance, the Ongar-Harlow division, where sequestrations were very numerous. In Harlow there were six sequestrations; but two livings, Great Parndon and Sheering, had become vacant by death, and had therefore been filled again, before 1650. The ministers of Great and Little Hallingbury and of Hatfield are said to have been appointed by the Committee for Plundered Ministers; at Great Hallingbury fifths were paid to the late minister. But no notice is taken of the sequestration at Matching, for which we have direct and complete evidence. In Ongar there were at least thirteen sequestrations; but Fyfield and Kelvedon Hatch had since become vacant by death. Sequestrations are definitely mentioned at Chigwell, Kelvedon Hatch, Lambourne, High Ongar and Stanford Rivers; and are obviously inferred from appointments by "the Committee for Plundered Ministers" or the like, recorded at Magdalen Laver, Abbess Roding, Theydon Garnon, Theydon Mount, Stapleford Tawney. But nothing of the kind is said of Bobbingworth or Navestock. All three sequestrations in Waltham are noticed or implied.

Thus out of twenty-two known sequestrations, sixteen are noticed or implied. In the case of three more, the livings had since become void by death, and had been filled up normally. Only three cases are unnoticed, and the sequestered minister of one of them, Navestock, may not have been still living.

(6) The Petitions for restoration, addressed to the House of Lords in 1660,* present a nearly—but not quite—complete list of those sequestered clergy who still survived:—

Little Baddow.	Richard Hooke.
Belchamp Otten.	Joseph Bird.
*Birdbrook.	John Thompson.
Bobbingworth.	Nicholas Searle.
*Bowers Gifford.	Edward Clarke.
Chigwell.	Emmanuel Uty.
Chishall.	Thomas King.
Chelmsford.	John Michaelson.
Cranham.	Ignatius Jordan.
Great Dunmow.	Joseph Crowther.
Epping.	Thomas Holbech.
Feering.	Robert Senior.
*Fordham.	Richard Pulley.
Much Holland.	Edward Cherry.
Henny Major.	Charles Forbench.
Hallingbury Parva.	John Fyshe.
*Langenhoe.	Jacob Lane.

* Hist. MSS. Com.

*Magdalen Laver.	George Kendleton.
Mashbury.	Robert Grey.
Black Notley.	Joseph Plume.
(South) Ockendon.	Francis Gouldman.
Pentlow.	Edward Alston.
Radwinter.	Richard Drake.
Abbess Roding.	Nicholas Burton.
High Roding.	John Duke.
White Roding.	Charles Leventhorpe.
Sandon.	Brian Walton.
Springfield Richards.	Robert Tourney.
Stisted.	Christopher Newstead.
Stapleford Tawney.	Richard Nicholson.
Theydon Garnon.	Nicholas Wright.
Upminster.	John Halke.
*Wickford.	Robert Percival.
Witham.	Francis Wright.
Woodham Ferrers.	William Clutterbuck.

The above number thirty-four, of whom the great majority had certainly been sequestered in 1643-6. But there is some obscurity about six cases—marked with an asterisk above. They may include cases of men turned out later on by the Commissioners or Major Generals; or of men presented to livings, but rejected by the “Triers.”

(1) BIRDBROOK. John Thompson was appointed by the Commissioners of the Great Seal,* December 2, 1651, on the death of the late Minister (John Gent). Morgan Hayne was appointed in 1655, Isaac Grandorge in 1656. This looks very like an ejection by Commissioners or Major Generals.

(2) BOWERS GIFFORD. Edward Clarke was appointed in 1641, being nominated on the Classis in 1645, and was still minister in 1650. No other name is known before Restoration. It is possible the above died and one of the same name was refused by the Triers. An ejection by the Commissioners is less likely. We should in any case expect to hear of some man appointed to the living.

(3) MAGDALEN LAVER. George Kendleton was appointed in 1631. (Cole, apparently by a mistake, gives the name of the sequestered minister as “Francis.” Cole gives the charges; Kendleton certainly left.) If sequestered in the usual way, he would have recovered his living in 1660; but he actually returned only on Harvey’s ejection for nonconformity in 1662. The long memorial inscription in the Church does not clear this up.

* Add. MSS. 36792.

(4) LANGENHOE. Jacob Lane cannot have come there till the end of 1650 at earliest. Thomas Griggs came in 1655. Lane may have been refused by the Triers or ejected by the Commissioners. He was instituted October 1660.

(5) and (6) Robert Percival of Wickford must have been appointed there on the death of Nicholas Bound in 1649; but Robert Pulley was appointed in November 1649, when the living was "void by lapse," which implies that Percival's appointment was rejected.

Richard Pulley's known appointments are:—

Thundersley, March, 1644.

Fordham. July, 1646.

Wickford. November, 1649.

Walker has a story of Pulley being turned out of Fordham because this was a better living than Wakes Colne and it was determined that one of them should be given to a Puritan from New England (John Bulkley). There may be some truth in the story—it comes from Pulley's son—but Walker's date, 1644, is quite wrong; Pulley only went to Fordham in 1646 on the death of the sequestered minister, John Alsop.

Thus of these six cases, three are possible ejections by Commissioners or Major General, the rest are obscure.

The actual petitions throw little light upon these cases. Dates are never given. The usual statement is that the petitioner had his living sequestered for his loyalty to the late King.

Clarke of Bowers Gifford simply says that his Rectory was divers years illegally sequestered from him, and there is now a suit depending [*sic*] for the same. Lane of Langenhoe and Thompson of Birdbrook both assert that they were sequestered "in the time of the late unfortunate and bloody war upon the account of loyalty unto his sacred Majesty." This may mean Charles II, but is ambiguous. The "War" must cover all the Troubles.

Pulley and Tournay petition for restoration to Fordham and Springfield respectively, but say nothing about their possession of Wickford and South Fambridge.

The only petition giving any real information is that of Robert Percival, who states that "he was presented to the living of Wickford by the undoubted patron, and continued rector thereof, observing the government of the Church of England, and was thence

ejected and cast out by soldiers for his loyalty to our late Royal Sovereign of blessed memory ; and sithence one hath intruded into his rectory, having no right thereunto, and keeps possession of it."

Pulley's sequestration dates from August 1649 (MS. Harl. 6244, 17a). The grounds are not given.

It is impossible on several accounts to arrive at the total number of sequestrations. There are, *e.g.*, cases where charges were brought, but we do not know the result. There are cases where sequestration did not follow, or where a compromise was effected.

Fisher of Belchamp St. Paul not only kept his living, but received augmentation for many years. Hull of Ulting was still there in 1650 ; so with a few others (see above). John Simpson of Mount Bures may be a similar case ; but the evidence seems to point to the sequestered minister dying not long after, and being succeeded by another of the same name.

In some cases it would seem that the rector was not actually turned out, but he had to allow the bulk of the stipend to go to a curate chosen by the parishioners. This was the case with Gregory Holland of West Bergholt and William Jones of Ashen. In this last case we read in 1650 " Joseph Skynner Clerk, supplieth the Cure by the choice of the parish and consent of the said Mr. Jones." Such cases may not be formal sequestration, but they come to much the same thing.

A clear example is at Barking. Articles were brought against Dr. Hall before the Earl of Manchester's Committee in 1645. On May 2 it was ordered that Peter Witham should officiate the cure of the parish church of Barking, under Dr. Hall, vicar, and to have for his services £100 a year to be paid by the said Dr. Hall. (The living was valued at £100 in 1650.) We should know nothing of this but that, Witham having left by the end of 1646, Dr. Hall brought in Jeffrey Sharpe in his place. Sharpe had been a Lecturer in London, and had, November 16, 1643, been stopped from preaching his Lecture at St. Andrew Undershaft, and on the 17th from that at St. Martin in the Fields " for that he did deliver many dangerous and malignant passages tending to sedition, begetting a misunderstanding of the Parliament and disaffection to it." This was brought up against him—and Dr. Hall—at Barking in 1646-7 ; the articles and decision in Hall's case were examined. Sharpe was forbidden henceforth to officiate or preach

at Barking; John Storer, M.A., was appointed curate there, to receive the £100 a year from Hall.*

Hornchurch looks a similar case. John Man became Vicar in 1632 and died in 1648; he is described in the entry of his burial as "pacificus." But John Hoffman appears on the Classis, November 1645; and the Romford Committee Book† has an entry a month later, December 10, 1645, that whereas Mr. Hoffman had been charged with a light horse in the posture of defence, and Mr. Man with a foot arms, "now it appearing that Mr. Hoffman is a plundered minister and that the living is not worth £100 per ann. and that Mr. Man hath but £10 per ann. to maintain himself, this Committee do think fit to discharge them." There may have been a sequestration here. At all events such cases are hard to distinguish from those where the sequestered rector was left a fair share of the income, as Holmes of Southchurch, or (originally) Reade of Fyfield.

There are cases where a man holding two livings was sequestered from the one, often on other charges than simple pluralism, but kept the other. In some cases the same charges were renewed at the other living, but finally dismissed; *e.g.*, William Osboldston lost Great Parndon in 1643; later on, the same charges were renewed at East Hanningfield, but dismissed; he, however, died a few months later. Andrew Harward of Greenstead by Ongar had been sequestered from Tring, Hertfordshire; when the same charges were renewed at Greenstead they were finally dismissed, but he resigned Greenstead in hope of recovering Tring.‡ There are several cases of pluralists losing one living, but retaining the other. George Boswell lost Rivenhall, but kept North Benfleet. Thomas Eyres lost Great Horkesley, but kept Mile End. William Isaacson lost St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, but kept Woodford. Joseph Long lost Fingringhoe, but kept Great Clacton. Nicholas Searle lost Bobbingworth, but kept Widdington. Edward Young lost Hadstock, but kept Heydon. He was in 1651-2 presented to Ansty, Herts, by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, thus vacating both livings, which were duly filled up. At the Restoration he recognised the cession of Heydon, but claimed and recovered Hadstock.

Such cases are hard to distinguish from those where pluralists, perhaps otherwise unobjectionable ecclesiastically or politically,

* MSS. Bodl. 424, esp. fols. 173 and 205.

† Add. MSS. 37491.

‡ Add. MSS. 15671, f. 168, July 7, 1647.

resigned one of their livings under pressure ; *e.g.*, Jeffrey Watts resigned Clavering while keeping Great Leighs ; Matthias Styles had to resign St. George, Botolph Lane, while keeping Orsett. Perhaps the same holds good of Samuel Noel, who kept Little Canfield while giving up Great Waltham ; but there may have been a sequestration here.

There are, however, cases of pluralists sequestered from both livings ; *e.g.*, William Fairfax from East Ham and St. Peter, Cornhill ; John Browning from Great Easton and Rawreth ; James Jarvis from North Fambridge and Greenstead by Colchester ; Stephen Withers from Kelvedon Hatch and Sheering ; William Pindar from Stock and Langdon Hills ; John Michaelson from Chelmsford and Asheldham ; perhaps Richard Freeman from St. James, Garlickhithe, and Springfield ; William Heywood from St. Giles-in-the-Fields and Laindon with Basildon ; Stephen Nettles from Lexden and Steeple. William Williams was sequestered from Barling ; his position at Shopland is not clear. Simon Lynch did not go to Blackmore till after he had lost Runwell.

There are some peculiar cases ; *e.g.*, Robert Tourney of Springfield. It rather looks as if there were nothing serious against him, but that the authorities wished to abolish the anomaly of the two Springfield benefices (Springfield Richards and Springfield Boswell) with only one cure. They certainly did amalgamate these under William Bankes. Tourney was charged with not giving up the houses to Bankes ; his defence was that he had been promised another living ; he actually got the sequestration of South Fambridge. For Richard Pulley of Fordham, see above.

It is perhaps best to reckon by number of *parishes* than by that of *men*, as the figures are complicated by pluralism. When, as in some cases above, a man loses one living but keeps another, he can be reckoned either as one who loses a living or as one who keeps it. Reckoning by number of parishes is clearer, for if a living is sequestered from a man it *is* sequestered, whether he keeps another or not—though, of course, if a man loses two livings his name will come twice over.

A good feature of Puritanism is its suppression of Pluralism. This did not mean that they stood out against the union of adjacent parishes ; the two Wendens were held together ; so were, during much of the period, Ingrave and West Horndon ; Langenhoe was held at one time with East Donyland, at another with Fingringhoe ; It was proposed to unite Quendon and Rickling. But apart from

this they set themselves against men holding more than one living. There are, however, two things on the other side ; (1) a man might hold a living under circumstances which meant that he was absent much of the time, *e.g.*, with an army chaplaincy or the headship of a college ; this gave Milton some justification for charging " the forcers of conscience " with seeking

" To seize the widowed whore Plurality
From those whose sin ye envied, not abhorred."

(2) Their sequestrations and ejections meant, according to Fuller, many vacant parishes ; this is confirmed by the Suffolk and Essex Petition of 1646. But allowing for this, they did much to secure resident clergy in all parishes ; they were as keen on this as Anglicans of the Victorian period. This was revised after the Restoration, especially on the ejection of so many clergy at once in 1662. This meant either vacant parishes or pluralism. The sequestrations by the Puritans were spread over a wider period ; and they had " plundered " and unbeneficed ministers with whom to fill the vacancies.

In Essex, reckoning in some obscure or doubtful cases where sequestration or its equivalent is probable, but not quite certain, the number of sequestered livings amounts to quite 150—some 40 per cent. of the total number of benefices, nearly the same proportion as in Cambridgeshire* and Hertfordshire. But the proportion varies in different parts of the county ; where the patronage was largely in the hands of influential Puritans like the Earl of Warwick it is natural that only a few cases called for sequestration. But a belt of sequestered livings runs right across the county, from the Middlesex and Hertfordshire borders at Chingford and Nazeing to the estuary of the Blackwater at Mundon and Steeple, though a few islands stand out above the flood, the largest consisting of Ingatestone, Margaretting, Widford and Great Baddow. Another block of sequestrations lies round Bishop Stortford—about a dozen on the Essex side alone—both Hallingburys, Hatfield, Sheering, Matching, Abbess, White and High Rodings, Great Canfield, Great Dunmow, Great Easton, and Takeley. There seem nearly as many on the Hertfordshire side.

As has been said, it is impossible to get the precise numbers of sequestrations. But the following include all cases of articles and charges brought before Committees, usually, though not always, resulting in sequestration. (a) denotes cases where sequestration

* See *Kingston*, *E. Anglia and the Civil War* : p. 392. (W. M. Palmer.)

is not quite certain, or where its equivalent, the putting in of a curate-in-charge, took place ; (b) denotes obscure cases ; (c) cases where no sequestration followed.

Abberton.	Warner.
Aldham.	Falconer.
Alphamstone.	Steward.
Ardleigh.	Nettles.
Arkesden.	Beardsall.
Asheldham.	Michaelson
Ashen (a).	Jones.
Baddow, Little (<i>Rect.</i>).	Hooke.
Barling.	Williams.
Barking (a).	Hall.
Bardfield, Great (c).	Mowe.
Belchamp Otten	Bird.
Belchamp St. Paul (c).	Fisher.
Bentley, Great.	Lowes.
Bergholt, West (a).	Holland.
Birch, Great.	Collingwood.
Birdbrook (b).	Thompson.
Bobbingworth.	Searle.
Borley.	Warren.
Bowers Gifford (b).	Clarke.
Bradwell by Coggeshall.	Crackenthorpe.
Bradwell-on-Sea.	Bury.
Braxted, Great.	Meighen.
Brightlingsea.	Pettit.
Burstead, Little.	Wells.
Bures Hamlet.	Smith.
Bures, Mount (a).	Simpson.
Buttsbury.	Forster.
Canewdon.	Burges.
Canfield, Great.	Flynt.
Chadwell (b).	Colfe.
Chelmsford.	Michaelson.
Chickney.	Mitchell.
Chignal St. James (c).	Fenwick.
Chigwell.	Uty.
Chingford.	Russell.
Clacton, Great (c).	Long.
Chishall, Great.	King.
Colne, White (a).	Guyon.
Cranham.	Jordan.
Colchester :	
St. Giles.	Cock.
St. Leonard.	Goffe. (There is much obscurity
St. Mary Magdalen.	Honifold. } about Colchester
	Cock. } cases.)
Trinity.	Newcomen.
Corringham.	Blunt.

Dagenham.	Trew.
Danbury.	Vincent.
Debden.	Wilson.
Dovercourt-Harwich (b).	Bainbridge.
Dunmow, Great.	Crowther.
Dunton.	Norton.
Easton, Great.	Browning.
Easthorpe.	Johnson.
Elmdon (b).	Gardner.
Epping.	Holbech.
Fambridge, North.	Jarvis.
Fambridge, South.	Vicars.
Faulkbourne.	Strutt.
Feering.	Senior.
Fingringhoe.	Long.
Fobbing.	Johnson.
Fordham (b).	Pulley.
Foulness.	Dove.
Frating (b).	Cage (?)
Fryerning.	Peyton.
Fyfield.	Reade.
Goldhanger.	Swenow.
Gosfield.	Crosse.
Greenstead by Colchester.	Jarvis.
Greenstead by Ongar (c).	Harward.
(b).	Panter.
Hadstock.	Young.
Hallingbury, Great.	Thurman.
Hallingbury, Little.	Fish.
Halstead.	Webb.
Ham, East.	Fairfax.
Ham, West (a).	Blower.
Hanningfield, E. (c).	Osboldston.
Hanningfield, S.	Stevens.
Hanningfield, W. (b).	Aylmer.
Hatfield Broad Oak.	Parker.
Henny, Great.	Forbench.
Heydon (c).	Young.
Hedingham, Sible (c).	Jegon.
Holland, Great.	Cherry.
Horkesley, Great.	Eyre.
Hornchurch (a).	Man.
Horndon-on-the-Hill.	Hurt.
Horndon, West.	Jackaman.
Hutton (b).	Rose.
Ingrave.	Jackaman.
Kelvedon (Easterford).	Dears.
Kelvedon Hatch.	Withers.
Kirby.	Kidby.
Laindon with Basildon.	Heywood.

Langdon Hills.	Pindar.
Lambourne.	Weems.
Langenhoe (b).	Lane.
Laver, Magdalen (b).	Kendleton.
Layer Bretton (b).	Theedam.
Leighs, Great (c).	Watts.
Lexden.	Nettles.
Leyton (b).	Williams.
Littlebury, R.	Greene.
V.	Tucker.
St. Lawrence.	Turner.
Maplestead, Great.	Shepherd.
Maplestead, Little (b).	Chamberlain.
Manuden.	Sowthen.
Mashbury.	Grey.
Matching.	Snell.
Mersea, East.	Edwards.
Mersea, West.	Woolhouse.
Mountnessing.	Davies.
Middleton.	Frost.
Mundon.	Staples.
Navestock.	Fisher.
Nazeing.	Lewis.
Newport (b).	Sparke.
Norton, Cold.	Middleton.
Notley, Black.	Plume.
Ockendon, South.	Gouldman.
Ongar, High.	Tomlinson.
St. Osyth.	Cherry.
Panfield.	Jenkinson.
Parndon, Great.	Osboldston.
Pebmarsh.	Wiborough.
Peldon.	Cornelius.
Pentlow.	Alston.
Pleshey.	Bonyman.
Purleigh.	Washington.
Radwinter.	Drake.
Rayne.	Symons.
Rettendon.	Duncon (-combe).
Ridgewell.	Pindar.
Rivenhall.	Boswell.
Roding, Abbess.	Burton.
Roding, High.	Duke.
Roding, White.	Leventhorpe.
Rawreth.	Browning.
Roxwell.	South.
Runwell.	Lynch.
Saling, Great (b).	Lake.
Sampford, Little.	Webster.

Sandon.	Walton.
Sheering.	Withers.
Shenfield.	Childerley.
Shopland (b).	Gill.
Southchurch.	Holmes.
Southminster.	Jeffrey.
Springfield Boswell (b).	Freeman.
Springfield Richards.	Tourney.
Stambridge, Great.	Thorold.
Stanford Rivers.	Meredith.
Stanway.	Baldock.
Stapleford Tawney.	Nicholson.
Steeple.	Nettles.
Stisted.	Newstead.
Stock.	Pindar.
Takeley.	Heard.
Tey, Little.	Laud.
Thaxted.	Leader. }
	Croxon. }
Theydon Garnon.	Wright.
Theydon Mount.	Whitby.
Thorpe.	Darnell.
Thorrington (?) (b).	Fothergill.
Tollesbury.	Allen.
Tolleshunt Darcy.	Hale.
Toppesfield.	Burnell.
Totham, Great.	Westropp.
Ulting (c).	Hull.
Upminster.	Halke.
Weald, South.	Baker.
Wethersfield.	Tennison.
Wickham St. Paul.	Clay.
Wickford (b).	Grey. }
	Percival. }
Willingale Doe.	Watts.
Wimbish (Rector).	Wilson.
Witham.	Wright.
Woodham Ferrers.	Clutterbuck.
Writtle.	South.
Yeldham, Little.	Evet.

It will be seen that several men appear more than once ; each was either sequestered from two parishes, or at least accused in two cases, though one was dismissed.

The obscure cases (b) include those discussed under the Petitions to the House of Lords in 1660 ; also cases where we hear of charges brought, but not the result ; and cases where we hear of sequestrators being appointed to a living, but not why. If we find men accused before the Committees still in possession of their livings in

1650 or earlier, the charges clearly fell through in the end as (c) ; if we find another man there immediately after, there was clearly a sequestration or its equivalent. But the first subsequent notice we find may be a vacancy years after ; or we may find a new name, say on the " Classis," without any record of the living being vacated in the ordinary way and a successor duly instituted. Such cases suggest sequestration, but may sometimes be explained otherwise.

Deducting from the 177 cases above nine cases where the charges failed, we have left 168 ; if all the doubtful and obscure cases are deducted, we still have over 150 left.

The grounds of sequestration are unknown in many cases so far as we are concerned ; or known only quite generally ; *e.g.*, " scandalous conduct." Newcourt takes for granted that almost everyone was sequestered " for his loyalty." Writers on the other side often assume that nearly all were sequestered on moral grounds. This is undoubtedly true in a number of cases. We must, of course, make considerable allowance for prejudice and for village gossip ; but considering the moral condition of many country clergy not so very long ago, there can be little doubt that a number of charges were made out. Bishop Juxon at his Visitation of 1637 had warned the clergy against drink. Walker's criticisms or admissions of some of the charges in the " Century " have been given above. In particular, Wright of Witham is given up altogether ; Archdeacon Warley had suggested that Walker should leave him out entirely. Walker's honesty is conspicuous in such cases. Some of his correspondents had urged him to suppress such charges.

But there are many cases where no moral charge at all is alleged, the grounds being only ecclesiastical or political. There are a few such cases in the " Century " ; see above. To these may be added Symons of Rayne, Gouldman of Ockendon, Wemys of Lambourne, Reade of Fyfield, Crosse of Gosfield, Wiborough of Pebmarsh, Rogers of Bishopsgate (late of Messing), Tomlinson of High Ongar, Drake of Radwinter.

There are also many where the main charges are of this kind, but charges of drunkenness, frequenting alehouses, or swearing (often of a very mild kind, *e.g.*, " by my faith ") seem thrown in. Little weight should be attached to such charges in such case ; the Committees probably paid small attention to them.

The most difficult cases are those where the charges of moral misconduct are more serious, but those of " malignancy " are

still more prominent. A typical case is that of Lawrence Washington of Purleigh, the ancestor of George Washington. The "Century" says his living was sequestered "for that he is a common frequenter of alehouses, not only himself sitting daily tippling there, but also encouraging others in that beastly vice, and hath been often drunk, and hath said that the Parliament have more Papists belonging to them in their armies than the King hath about him in his army, and that the Parliament army did more hurt than the Cavaliers, and that they did none at all; and hath published them traitors that did lend to or assist the Parliament." The obvious inference from this is that the main ground for his sequestration was "malignancy," but there may have been some foundation for the charge of drinking. But a correspondent of Walker's, a Justice of the Peace in the county who personally knew him (Henry Ayloffe, J.P.) assured Walker that he took him to be a "very worthy, pious man; so often as he was in his company, he always appeared a very modest sober person, and he was recommended as such by several gentlemen who were acquainted with him before he himself was. He was a loyal person, and had one of the best benefices in these parts, and this was the only cause of his expulsion, as I verily believe."

It is surprising in how few cases in this county is there any mention of the Covenant. Some Anglican writers appear to think that almost all sequestrations were for refusing to take this. This may well be true in counties which were not under the control of Parliament from the first; but it is not true in Essex. Here a large proportion of sequestrations took place before the Covenant was taken, or at least before it was fully enforced. This could hardly have been done before Easter 1644, as a number of members of Parliament, including Cromwell, did not take it till the beginning of that year. Even later, among the depositions in Cole's MS., the Covenant seldom appears; there are only a few charges of speaking against it, or not taking it, and these are not prominent. But Drake of Radwinter, though not sequestered for refusing the Covenant, found it in the way of getting the sequestration removed; and though not an original charge against Tomlinson, refusal of the vow was a ground for sequestration.

It would rather seem as if the Covenant were never too popular among some leading Essex men, whether of Episcopalian or of Independent sympathies. Harbottle Grimston at all events did not like it at all.

A few specimens of the charges and evidence may be given here. These include the cases heard by the House of Lords.

(1) RICHARD NICHOLSON OF STAPLEFORD TAWNEY. Newcourt omits his name, supposing the sequestered Rector to be *Thomas* Nicholson, instituted March 1596 7. Hence Walker, though giving his name correctly, says he had been there about 47 years when deprived, and must have been not less than 70 years of age. But the Nicholsons were a local family, three of whom held the living in succession; Richard Nicholson was instituted December 23, 1636, in succession to his father, Thomas, who seems to have resigned in his son's favour; in his will, proved 1649, he described himself as "clerk, aged and sickly." Richard had an elder brother, John Nicholson, D.C.L., apparently living in the parish; the present communion plate there was the gift of another member of the family near the end of the century.

The charges against Nicholson according to the "Century" are:—"He is a common drunkard, and hath expressed great malignancy against the Parliament, saying 'They were a company of factious fellows, and that this Parliament was no Parliament, and that the main part of the Lords and Commons being with the King, they were the Parliament'; and used divers other wicked speeches against the Parliament, and against several Lords in the House of Peers; and hath three wicked and scandalous libels against the Parliament found in his study and did sing one of them in an alehouse." (A typical charge, essentially political but with drunkenness thrown in.)

The Commons ordered the sequestration, April 18, 1643; but the Lords, as usual just at this time, had the case heard before them, April 29.* Nicholson declared he was falsely accused. Witnesses were produced to prove the charges against him, viz., Richard Burton, Edward Bentall, Thomas Graye and James Burton. The House adjudged him "to be sequestered from his late living of Stapleford Tawney, and to be committed to the prison of Newgate, there to remain till the pleasure of this House be further known."

FRANCIS WRIGHT OF WITHAM did not appear, May 1.† Four witnesses were produced to prove "that he is a common drunkard and adulterer, and the rest of the crimes charged against him," viz., Jonas Prost, James Princet, Eliz. Croxon, and Jo. Green.

* L. J., VI, 21.

† L. J., VI, 24.

Judgment:—"That the said Francis Wright shall be presently sequestered from the profits of the living of the said Church of Witham and from officiating there. (2) That Mr. Edmund Brewer shall officiate there. (3) That he [*sic*] shall be committed to the prison of the Fleet, there to remain during the pleasure of this House. Ordered that the Gentleman Usher shall attach the body of the said Francis Wright and bring him before the House."

DR. JOHN MEREDITH OF STANFORD RIVERS failed to appear* (May 6). As it was proved that the order had been served, the House took it as a contempt.

Richard Cox testified: That he hath not been at his charge at Stanford Rivers this nine months. Francis Flewing [*sic*] and Richard Cranfield, that he was at Oxford with the King's Army.

Judgment: to be sequestered from the living and its profits. Matthew Elliston, M.A., is appointed to officiate the said Cure during the pleasure of this House, and shall be allowed such maintenance for the same as this House shall appoint when they are informed of the true value of the said living. The profits are to be sequestered into responsible hands.

THOMAS WYBOROUGH OF PEBMARSH† did not appear. Will. Sympson said he heard the said Mr. Wyborough say "that Christ was corporally in the Sacrament, and unless a man did believe this, he could not be saved." So Henry Merriton. Daniel Sutton and John Gent were called to prove that he suspended persons for not bowing at the Name of Jesus. Daniel Sutton heard him say, "The Gospel had been too long at that place."

Judgment: To be attached and brought before the House; to be sequestered; Thomas Burrows, M.A., to officiate.

There is a long account of "Wiborow's" sufferings in *Mercurius Rusticus*. He was interrupted in his service and sermon by soldiers, dragged out of the Church, and his Book of Common Prayer taken from him (p. 33). The account of his sequestration is given (p. 121). He was compelled to leave his wife and children and put himself under the King's protection. The cure, however, was never neglected, but supplied by his friends "to the content and satisfaction of all moderate peaceable men." Yet his enemies "framed a bill of falsehood and lies against him," and gained the sequestration of the living. A long account follows, how his wife and children

* L. J., VI, 33.

† p. 37. May 9.

were turned out of the house. He had in Laudian days informed against his neighbours.

DR. READE OF FYFIELD* appeared, and denied he was guilty of any of the particulars ; only he bowed towards the Table, not to the Table. And he confessed he read the Book for the Sports on the Sabbath-day, but did not speak for it. John Hurspeath and George Wood said they heard Dr. Reade say in the church after reading the Book of Sports, that it was lawful for the young men to sport on the Sabbath-day. Robert Ashwell and George Ramsey said that he said " That we must obey the Bishop's commands, set over us by God, though they be errors in religion, for our part is obedience, and this should be a sufficient excuse for us at the Day of Judgment, for us to say, We did it out of obedience. Robt. Ashwell, That he said it was a fitting thing for men to cross themselves in the forehead when they come into the church.

John Tyng and John Hubbard: That he refused to read the Ordinances of Parliament. Robert Ashwell and George Wood: That he preached openly that it was utterly unlawful for any people to take up arms for the defence of religion, and that none but Brownists and Anabaptists are of another opinion ; and that it is better to suffer for religion than to take up arms for the defence of it.

George Ramsey, John Collyn, and Andrew Kent: That he prayed that the laws in Queen Mary's reign might be re-established as they were in her days.

This was about a quarter of a year ago.

Jonathan Crosse, George Wood, George Ramsey, Thos. King: That he was a compurgator in the ecclesiastical court for his man and maid that had committed incontinency together.

Dr. Reade confessed. The House took time to consider.

On May 11† they adjudged that he be sequestered for six months, Constant Jessop, M.A., to officiate. The profits to be sequestered into the hands of indifferent persons, who are to receive the same and pay half to Reade and half to Jessop.

(It is not clear why he got off so lightly—perhaps as holding one of the Earl of Warwick's livings. Actually the sequestration lasted till Reade's death in 1650, and his wife had to petition for her fifths.)

* p. 37.

† p. 42.

DR. BAKER OF SOUTH WEALD,* Prebendary of Canterbury. He confessed "he hath two livings and two prebendaries [*sic*], one of which is at Canterbury, where he is bound by his oath to reside three-quarters of a year; and confesses that he has had some misfortune in licensing books which he is sorry for." He is sequestered; Nicholas Folkingham, M.A., to officiate.

DR. WEEMES, PARSON OF LAMBOURNE,† did not appear.

Tho. Weeks and Robt. Barfoote testified that he said "That this Parliament was no Parliament; and that most of the best and the wiser Lords were with the King; and both of the Houses were led by a few schismatical Lords and Commons."

Ferdinand Staling testified the like; and that he neglected the preaching in his parish.

To be sequestered from profits and from officiating; Gamaliel Carr, M.A., to officiate. Weemes to be committed to the Fleet for contempt.

NEHEMIAH ROGERS OF ST. BOTOLPH, BISHOPSGATE.‡ Time was allowed for his appearance, as he was in the Isle of Ely [Canon there].

He did not appear.§ Wm. Trigg and John Worrall testified that Mr. Rogers delivered in his sermon that the law-makers did countenance the breaking into men's houses, and plundering them. John Everard testified "Mr. Rogers preached that we must submit to the King's commands though they be unlawful; and in no case whatever they ought to take up arms against the King." George Longe, the same. Edmund Abell, "That those who are called Malignants (some calling them out of simplicity) are as faithful to their God, as loyal to their King, and as conscientious, as those who call them so."

To be sequestered from officiating and from the profits. The sequestration to be for the benefit of John Vincent, M.A.

The above are all the Essex detailed cases in the Lords' Journals.

FRANCIS GOULDMAN OF SOUTH OCKENDON (Baker MSS., Cambridge, XXVII, 464). [He was the author of a great Latin Dictionary and of our best account of the Lambeth Articles.]

* p. 47. May 16.

† p. 58. May 23.

‡ p. 48. May 16.

§ p. 59. May 23.

[See Notes and Queries: II Series, III, 86.

Depositions of witnesses . . . taken upon Oath before the Committee for Scandalous Ministers for the sd County, at Ongar, 9 April, 1644.

1. Inprimis, William Reinolds of South Ockendon aforesd, yeoman, Sworne and examined doth say that the sd Mr. Gouldman about the time of the Propositions did say in his Pulpit that those who rayse armes against ye anointed are anynted knaves, and that the Parl. raise armes against the King.

2. Robt. Beomont, John Patch, and Barth. White, of South Ockendon aforesaid, yeomen, depose that the sd Mr. Gouldman did say in his Pulpit about last winter was twelvemonths, that an Asses head was once sold for eighty pieces of silver, but he hoped they would be at a cheaper rate, for there were many gathered together.

3. Wm. Reinolds further deposeth that the sd Mr. Gouldman refused to read divers Ordinances of Parl. appointed to be read in the Church, saying they were not fitt to be read in the Church, and he looked to hear from the Bp. first.

4. All the sd Deponents further say that the sd Mr. Gouldman never prayed for ye Parl.

5. John Patch deposeth that the sd Mr. Gouldman refused to joyn in the Association, and sayd there would come an Army out of North wch would prevent all these Taxes. This was spoken about ye time when the Lord Gray went out.

6. John Patch and Wm. Reinolds further depose that the sd Mr. Gouldman refused to lend anything to the Lord Fairfax, saying " Shall I take my children's bread and give it to my Lord Fairfax ? "

7. All the forenamed Deponents further say that the sd Mr. Gouldman preached but once on the Sabbath or on the Fast-days, and never catechized his Parishioners for the space of nine years or thereabouts.

8. John Patch and Wm. Reinolds likewise depose that the sd Mr. Gouldman is an enemy to frequent preaching and lectures, and hath lately said in his Pulpitt that people cannot be contented now to have the Word preached on the Sabbath, but they must have Lectures forsooth.

9. Wm. Reinolds and Rob. Beomont likewise depose that the sd Mr. Gouldman had a Cart brought Broom to his House all Day long on the Fast-day, and that day he said, " What, must we fast

still? " Wm. Reinolds further deposeth that the sd Mr. Gouldman should say It went against his conscience to pay in Rates to the Parliament.

10. All the forenamed Deponents further depose that Mr. Blunt, curate to the sd Mr. Gouldman, sayd in the Pulpitt in the hearing of Mr. G., that our Saviour Christ had nothing to leave us but his Cross and the Crowne of Thorns and the Nayles and the appurtenances thereof, the beautifying of the Church and the engraving and the needlework. And the Separatists, Brownists, Anabaptists and Schismaticks take away these our legacies which our Saviour left us.

And that the sd Curate the last Sabbath-day did say in the hearing likewise of the sd Mr. G., We must now have new upstart Reformation, forsooth, and none are so well liked of now as those who delight to preach and pray by the Spirit as they call it. And they are never out, because they are never in.

The Parsonage of South Ockendon is worth 120 lib. per ann. Mr. Gouldman hath a wife and five children ; his personall estate is near 50 lib. per ann.

We returne his answer ; he appeareth to be ill affected and an Idle Minister.

Rich. Everard, Wm. Masham, Ed. Birkhead, H. Holcroft, Wm. Martin, Car. H. Mildmay, Wm. Attwood.

The charges against JOSIAH TOMLINSON OF HIGH ONGAR are given at length in MS. J. Walker, C. 5, 105.

Mr. Josiah Tomlinson, a learned regular and orthodox clergyman, whose worthy character will appear even by the accusation of his enemies, and the Epitaph on his Tomb before the Altar of that church, compiled by Dr. Stern, formerly Chaplain to Archbishop Laud and afterwards himself Archbishop of York, who was intimately acquainted with him. This reverend gentleman after his travails into foreign parts for the public service was legally possessed of the Rectory of High Ongar, by the presentation of the Earl of Warwick, Patron thereof, some time in 1623.

In 1643, when the Parliament egregiously encouraged the Factious and Schismaticall Mob to complain against and mark out all the clergy of England for *Scandalous* who dared appear to write or preach or talk for the true old legal constitution in Church and State, and did sequester, imprison, and deprive them by mere

arbitrary intimation of their will and pleasure, an Address was presented to the House against Mr. Tomlinson, humbly shewing :

“ That whereas Mr. Josiah Tomlinson is a Man corrupt in doctrine, superstitious in practice, unprofitable in his ministry and opposite to the proceedings of Parliament, as by Articles annexed we hope more fully will appear, we humbly desire that he may be removed, his living sequestered, and a godly painful and orthodox divine placed among us to be maintained by the profits of the said Rectory. And we shall humbly pray . . . ”

Now here follow the articles exhibited against him, with the names of witnesses to the truth of each article :

1. He hath been a great promoter of all new innovations, causing the Table to be caised in, then urging all to kneel at the rail who would receive, putting by such as would not, and causing them to be presented and procured excommunications against them out of ecclesiastical courts, though he hath kept them from receiving for eighteen months space.

(Tim. Mellor, Rich. Peachie, Robt. Mellor.)

2. He hath not only published the Book of Liberty for the Lord's Day, but hath justified the lawfulness of it, inciting and encouraging youths to profane and play upon the Lord's Day.

(John Meller, John Browne, Fran. Meller.)

3. He affirmed that those things we termed Innovations, if they had a fair hearing, would prove to be Renovations.

(Sam. Wright, Rich. Peachie, Robt. Meller.)

4. He hath upon their humble desire refused to baptise two children of some honest men without the Cross, nor would suffer others, nor would let them carry them to other parishes where ministers would have done it.

(Sam. Wright, Rich. Peachie.)

5. He hath affirmed some of the Bishops in *our* time are as Holy as the Apostles were in theirs. And that they silenced none that were good, nor suffered any that were bad if they knew it.

(Sam. Wright, Fran. Meller.)

6. He affirmed that his Lordship of Canterbury was a very Holy man, and hath been known to be so from his youth ; and that he is a good statesman and would have reconciled Rome and us ; and that Rome is a true Church.

(Robt. Feage, Fra. Meller, Rich. Peachie, Sam. Wright.)

7. He expressed his great dissatisfaction to the Protestation, deferring to read it, would not assent it should be read by Mr. Lavender. After being so urged on him by us he bid his Sexton read it, and when at last he *did* read it, he affirmed, He had no command to enjoin any to take it, and he conceived the sense of the House was to bind us to maintain the 39 articles.

(Sam. Wright, Rich. Peachie, Nath. Turbridge, Geo. White.)

8. He hath much disturbed honest people in receiving the Sacrament, pulling away their Besses, feeling on their knees whether they kneeled.

(John Sworder, Nath. Macken, John Chiger (?), Math. Turbridge.)

9. He affirmed, If he were commanded, he would bow at the Table.

(Sam. Wright, Robt. Meller.)

10. He being formerly in question before a Committee of the honourable House of Commons, upon a Letter from the Right honourable Earl of Warwick, to entertain Mr. Lavender, a godly able preacher, for his assistance and to allow him an hundred pounds per Ann., he drew him in upon other terms whereby he hath not been able to maintain his charges without teaching school, which he growing weary of is (upon a call to another place) leaving us.

(Robt. Meller, Rich. Peachie.)

11. He hath showed his disaffection to preaching. Mr. Lavender being desired to preach upon an Extraordinary occasion, he took the key, locked up the door, and rid abroad.

(Robt. Meller, Rich. Peachie, Fran. Meller.)

12. He is a very unprofitable Preacher.

(Robt Meller, Fran. Meller.)

13. He upon a Fast Day, treating upon Prayer, urging of a Form, spent much of his time in showing the unlawfulness of it for servants to pray when they should be about their master's business.

(Sam. Wright, Rich. Peachie.)

14. He treating concerning God's bowels of compassion in sending His Son, said, Such Bowels of Compassion hath our gracious Sovereign expressed in promising to tender the safety of the Parliament as of his dearest children.

(Geo. White.)

15. He hath refused to read ordinances of Parliament. Hath in confession much bewailed our desires of a good government formerly enjoined, and that now the Base must rule the Honourable, and that we had been unthankful for a good government formerly.

(Rich. Peachie, Sam. Wright, Nath. Turbridge.)

16. He hath been so far from affording to the Parliament voluntary supply, that he being charged with a Lance formerly and other Arms, he hath not sent them out since the Parliament began.

(Witnesses : Will. Brown, Rich. Peachie.)

The order from the Committee (given in full) is dated Oct. 21, 1643. It rehearses the great bulk at least of the above charges as proved. But the last count is " Being asked before this Committee at the time of his examination whether he would take the late Vow and Covenant, refused to do so, saying, He is not satisfied with the matter of fact mentioned in it, and that he would take it saving his former oaths of allegiance, etc. All which the Commons assembled in Parliament taking into consideration, for the better supply of a godly and able divine in the said parish, and for provision of fit maintenance of him that shall officiate there [do sequester the Rectory from Mr. Tomlinson] . . . Mr. John Lavender, a godly learned and orthodox divine shall officiate the said Cure as Parson. . . .

The account continues that Mr. Tomlinson having previously granted a lease of the tithes of the Parsonage to one Zachary Bell, afterwards by Parliament appointed one of the Lay Elders, Richard Peachie being the other, by whom Bell was obliged to pay him £200, Mr. Lavender was obstructed in the full enjoyment of the benefice ; so he complained to the Committee for Plundered Ministers, who ordered May 14, 1644, that Bell should pay Lavender £50 on the 28th for arrears, and £45 on June 18 for rent due at Lady Day (having already paid £5) ; and henceforth to pay Lavender £200 yearly by quarterly payments.

One or two further points may be added.

(1) It is asserted that Lavender intrigued in the parish to get Tomlinson turned out and replaced by himself.

(2) At a funeral in the parish, Mr. Tomlinson refused to let Mr. Lavender bury the corpse, but would bury it himself, with the Common Prayer. They watched his coming to the grave, took the book out of his hand, beat him down and trode upon him.

The charges against JOHN MOW, Curate of GREAT BARDFIELD, under John Pakenham, are given by Cole.* They are not noticed by Davids, perhaps because they seem to have failed. The enquiry was at Thaxted, Nov. 8, 1644.

Isaac Rich, William Mathew, and William Edwards, deposed that about a year and a half since, Mr. Mow being requested by Isaac Rich, then churchwarden, to read the Book of the Remonstrance of Parliament, which he refused, and the said Isaac Rich reading the same himself, Mr. Mow drew forth a letter of the Lord Paget's and said, "Here is my Lord Paget's letter, who is as worthy a Parliament man as any of them all, until he saw the Parliament's treachery against the King, and then he turned from them to the King." And so he drew away as many of the people as he could up into the chancel to hear him read the Lord Paget's letter, and William Edwards said he read it with a loud voice.

Amos Rushmer, and Thomas Titterell: that about Easter next after the Parliament began, as they remember, at the baptizing of two children in Finchingfield, Mr. Mow in the presence of Mr. Pagnall of Stambourne and Mr. Fitch of Bumsted, said that he came not out of Scotland for any fault of life or doctrine, but by reason of one clause in the Covenant, which he said was "they could defend themselves and their religion against all manner of persons," and said: "In doing so I must take up arms against my Prince, which I ought not to do; for if he were not a religious King we ought not to take up arms, for the weapons of the Church are prayers and tears."

Barth. Note and William Mathew: that about a year ago, when the Vow and Covenant was to be taken in the Church, Mr. Mow refused the taking of it, and thereupon fled towards Ingerstone, where he being apprehended, he took it, as this deponent said he heard Sir Martyne Lumley report.

Mr. Joseph Hull and Isaac Rich: that they had heard Mr. Mow say those who had taken the Protestation to maintain the Parliament were forsworn for voting out the Popish Lords: alluding to that of Joshua concerning the Gibeonites, that although they were of the Canaanites yet for his oath's sake he spared them because of the oath; and that was presently after the taking of the second Protestation.

Mr. Hull further said: Mr. Mow said the Parliament set base fellows, as a weaver and a miller, to take such as he was.

* Add. MSS. 5829, f. 54.

James Rich : he heard Mr. Mow say, " They were all forsworn which subscribed the Petition for voting the Popish Lords out of the House, the same being as good subjects as they, till they were convicted " ; for which he brought the example of the Gibeonites, that after the covenant with Joshua (he) let them receive benefit of the oath ; and this was about a year since.

Arthur Borely : Mr. Mow went round to get hands to the Petition for Peace.

Robert Dawkin : Mr. Mow coming in at the Chance' door did use to bow towards the rails ; and he with one Mr. Barnard came to the deponent's house, and would not leave him until he had gotten his hand to the Petition for Peace, about Christtide 1642 ; which he was loth to have done, because he saw it was carried about by Malignants and ministers that way disposed.

Daniel Rich : he saw Mr. Mow carry the Petition for Peace from house to house to get hands ; and on New Year's Day after he did reprove those that would not set their hands to it in his sermon, quoting for that purpose John 14, " My peace I leave," etc.

John Bond : Mr. Mow came to him to get his hand to the Petition for Peace, which he denying Mr. Mow was very angry with him

Daniel Rich : Mr. Mow using in his discourse his Faith and Troth, being, as this deponent heard, reprov'd for it, did after in his sermon say, " that there were many that would not swear, but would lie like the Devil," and so left it.

Austen Boswell : he heard Mr. Mow in his sermon say that many would not swear but would lie like devils. Mr. Mow said at this deponent's own house, All the best of the town were on his side, and there were none against him but a few of the devil's children.

Mary Scott and Judith Lorkin : about some difference concerning tithe of pig and apples between the said Mow and the deponent Mary Scott, he wished she might live in want until his pig were restored again. And because the said Mary Scott did not give him so much for her tithe apples as he required, he wished she might perish ; and this he wished several times.

Judith Lorkin : because she told him that she would pay him tithe when the King and Parliament were agreed, he said (as she

conceiveth out of his distaste to the Parliament, because he had done nothing for the Parliament), "Are you one of those?" and there-upon he then and often since called her "Separate."

Isaac Rich: he had heard Mr. Mow swear by God.

Richard Wood: he saw Mr. Mow and Mr. Pakenham bow towards the rail as they went up to receive the Sacrament.

William Mathew: Mr. Mow being to receive the Sacrament Mr. Pakenham coming up with him to the rail to receive, they both made their Congees to the rails. Another time he would not preach in the afternoon because he said he was afraid the rails should be pulled up, which he said were a fine ornament for the church.

Bartholomew Nodes: about three years since on the Lord's Day, Mr. Mow refused to go to church for fear the rails should be pulled up, as he himself told them; and so there was neither service nor sermon that afternoon.

Further: he delivered in a sermon about a year ago that a many would run three miles to a sermon when they might have as good at home, and if they were examined had no more religion in them than a dog; saying that a man ought not to go a mile on the Sabbath day, for the Jews, he said, would not go seven furlongs.

John Addams: about three quarters of a year ago, Mr. Mow having appointed a Saturday to examine people for the receiving of the Sacrament the next day, they coming to the church found him not there, and repairing to his house they heard he was at the tavern, where they saw him after come out, and wholly neglecting that work of preparation he pretended.

William Surrey, John Bond, William Edwards: Mr. Mow having passed by one Joh. Haukes in giving the Bread in the Sacrament, being told thereof by the churchwarden, he bade the churchwarden carry it him, which he did in the cover of the cup, and Haukes took a piece of it; and this was about a year ago.

John Haukes: Mr. Mow did not give him the Bread in the Sacrament, but it was brought him by the churchwarden; he conceiveth it was sent him by Mr. Mow.

Robert Daukin: Mr. Mow would not pay him his collection for the poor until he had made him promise not to give any to the Widow Carter, because she did not keep her own church, but go to hear at other churches, where were good ministers.

Sara Carter: Mr. Mow told her she should have no collection because she went to other churches to hear good ministers, she being an old poor woman, and as she saith, could not understand him.

Mary Wallis: she being not able to edify by Mr. Mow and going to other parishes, he did and doth with-hold from her gifts given to the poor, because she went to other churches to hear.

Robert Godfrey: as Mr. Mow came from Mr. Bendlowes' in some discussion Mr. Mow said that Parliament was not ordained by the word of God as Kings were, but were merely by the favour of the King to his subjects.

Isaac Rich: about two years since he publicly taught that none were to meddle with the temporal sword but the King, and whom he shall appoint; but now the Commons did easily prevail with the people to take up arms against the King; and brought in Absalom as an example.

Joseph Hull: he heard Mr. Mow say, The Oath taken in Scotland was against the King, the latter part of it especially; and he said he came only . . .

It does not however appear that Mow was turned out. Probably Sir Martin Lumley was consulted. Mow was apparently still there in 1650 ("John Pakingham does not officiate; he has put in John Mow"). But on Nov. 5, 1651, Samuel Hall is the assistant to John Pakenham, and receives 20 marks augmentation; in 1654-5 he became Vicar till 1663, when he went to Theydon Mount.

Dauids gives most of the depositions contained in Cole's MS.,* but does not give the names of the witnesses. These cases are, as might be expected from the composition of the Committee, nearly all from the N. or N.E. part of the county, especially from Hinckford and Lexden.

It would be of some interest to find out to what class the witnesses generally belonged. Those against Gouldman of South Ockendon are all described as "yeomen." Most of those who gave evidence in the above House of Lords cases appear substantial men. Of those against Reade of Fyfield, Robert Ashfield and John Ting appear as elders in the "Classis"; Ashfield is there described as "gentleman," as also in the list of Jurors at the 1650 Inquisition. At Stapleford Tawney, James Burton is on the "Classis";

* Add. MSS. 5829.

Edward Bentall is probably either the Rector of Stapleford Abbots or his son. At Stanford Rivers Richard Cranfield must be of the family of Thomas Cranfield, gentleman, on the "Classis" (one of the Jurors in 1650.") The Barfootes were an old Lambourne family, of Lambourne Hall. The approximate social position of many witnesses, when the names are known, could probably be obtained from S. P. Dom. Charles I, Vol. CCCLVIII, the cost of fitting out a ship of 800 tons in 1636. This contains the names of practically every ratepayer in the county of Essex, far more than paid subsidies, with the amount each was charged. There had of course been changes between 1636 and 1643, but many must have continued. A still better source would be the Subsidy Roll of 1642.

The instances given by Walker of sequestered clergy being forcibly ejected from their houses and their goods seized, must not be regarded as normal. These cases must be distinguished from simple plundering, from which undoubtedly clergy on either side suffered severely in some parts of the country; in Essex we read of the plundering of Erasmus Laud of Little Tey and John Cornelius of Peldon, before the war had really begun; while on the other side Ralph Josselin was badly plundered by the Cavaliers in 1648. At the visitation of 1664 several clergy, on either side, had lost their Letters of Orders during the war. (Forbench of Henny, Pettit of Brightlingsea, Holmes of Matching, Hales of Great Hallingbury.)

Men might indeed suffer from the personal spite of sequestrators, or might bring trouble on themselves by persistent refusal to give up possession. Also to have gone to the King rendered all their goods liable to seizure. But normally the sequestered clergyman was allowed to keep what he had before the date of sequestration, and even to collect what was due but not yet paid.

Walker gives from *Mercurius Rusticus** a long account of the sufferings of Mrs. Wiborow of Pebmarsh. Her husband, having been driven from his parish by fear of the Brownists and Anabaptists, had put himself under the King's protection. On June 10, 1643, a troop of rebels came to the Parsonage house and demanded entrance. "Mistress Wiborow and her children being alone in the house, she barred up the doors against them, and for her better safety retired to an upper room to which the passage was through a trap-door, which likewise she made as fast as she could. All this fortification could not keep the rebels out; they

* p. 122.

break open the doors and make way to the room where Mistress Wiborow and the children thought to secure themselves ; when they came thither three of these rebels set their pistols at her breast, threatening to shoot her if she and her children would not suddenly depart the house and leave it to a new master. Mistress Wiborow replied that she would rather be killed within doors than perish without ; but withal earnestly entreated that she might enjoy so much of her husband's right as his house to shelter her and her children ; who, poor souls, stood round about their mother, crying. . . . They violently seize on her, drag her down the stairs, and out of the house into the yard. . . . There she found Meriton, Simpson, and Cooke, the sequestrators, with others attending there to see this joyful spectacle, a poor oppressed gentlewoman and her small children cruelly cast out of their own habitation by rebels and traitors. As soon as Mistress Wiborow saw them, she presented them with the King's Proclamation* against the oppression of the clergy by the intrusion of factious and schismatical persons into the cures and revenues of orthodox divines, by order of one or both pretended Houses of Parliament, contrary to all law and justice ; which she hoped would find so much obedience and respect as to restore her to her house. This was so far from mollifying these rebels and schismatics that it provoked them to great insolences. When she perceived that all her entreaties and her children's tears prevailed nothing she entreated the sequestrators that, in case she might not be permitted to dwell in her own house, yet she might have some other place of accommodation provided, to receive her and her children. Meriton insolently replied, That he would provide his Tumbrill, that is, his dung-cart, to carry her and her children from constable to constable, till she came to her husband. They refused to allow her to enter the house to bring out provision for her children's supper. " The authorized Thieves, I mean the Commissioners appointed by the pretended House of Parliament to seize upon the estates of all delinquents, order that whatsoever Master Wiborow left, should be seized on for the use of that Thing which they call a Parliament ; thereby to support rebellion with robbery and theft. Instantly they seize on his corn and those few cattle, the remainder of former plunderings, though they knew it was the life of the mother and her children."

There were doubtless other cases of the same kind. But this

* A not very conciliatory step.

was not the normal case. At South Ockendon*, when Mrs. Gouldman complained that she could not get her Fifths, the charge was brought that her husband was suing for tithes due since the sequestration. Her Counsel said it was for tithes due before it. The Committee, after arranging for the payment of the Fifths, said that if the suit were for tithes due since the sequestration, Gouldman must withdraw and pay costs. Obviously they saw nothing wrong if the tithes were previously due to him.

CORRINGHAM supplies an interesting case. It fell vacant by the death of Richard Robinson, in the latter part of 1644. The Committee for Plundered Ministers, supposing the living to be in the gift of Henry Andrews, a delinquent, nominated Richard Edwards; but finding the patron to be Sir Edward Spencer, the order was rescinded. He therefore appointed William Blunt, or Blount, M.A., possibly Gouldman's curate at South Ockendon, (March 1645). But charges were brought against him in April, and he was sequestered in September; but he was ordered to have a reasonable part of the profits for the time he had served the cure†. This was referred to the Romford Committee‡. Blunt's case was that he had served seven months before the sequestration, and received only £10 5s.; at his own charge he had cut the grass growing on the glebe land, made it into hay, and inned it in the rectory barn. The Committee ordered that he might take the hay and sell and dispose of it to his own use; and that the sequestrators, Thomas Collett and Thomas Webb, should pay him £30 over and above the £10 5s.

It has sometimes been maintained that a large proportion of the sequestered clergy were subsequently admitted to other livings. But this is true only of a small number; and if curacies and donatives, of very small value, be deducted, the number is very small indeed. We find a few, even under the Long Parliament, taking charge of vacant livings, and later on a few got lectureships. But very few got anything of any value.

Fuller, speaking of Bp. Williams' bill, 1641, to regulate Bishops and their jurisdiction, calls attention to the clause providing that all double-beneficed men were to pay a moiety of their benefice to their curates. This reminds him of what he calls a crying sin of the English clergy, viz., the miserable and scandalous stipends

* Add. MSS. 37491: f. 11, b.

† Add. MSS. 15669, 179.

‡ Add. MSS. 37491, fol. 102.

afforded to their curates. "Hence it is that God since hath changed his hand, making many who were poor curates rich rectors, and many wealthy incumbents to become poor curates. It will not be amiss to wish thankfulness without pride to the one, and patience without dejection to the other." Of those who ultimately got livings of some value, the most conspicuous are Fuller himself and Nehemiah Rogers. Fuller, who had lost his Prebend of Salisbury and his Chaplaincy of the Savoy, got about 1649 the Perpetual Curacy of Waltham Abbey, given him by the Earl of Carlisle. It was there that he wrote many of his books, including his *Church History*. His "*Infant's Advocate*," in defence of Infant Baptism, is addressed to his parishioners of Waltham Abbey. This address ends characteristically: "Remember the name of your parish, Waltham Holy Cross; it matters not though Cross be the surname, if Holy be the christian name of our sufferings."

In 1657-8 he was presented to Cranford in Middlesex. It must have been on this occasion that he had to pass the "Triers," and said to John Howe, asking for his support with them: "You see, sir, I am a somewhat corpulent man, and I have to pass through a narrow gate; I pray you, give me a shove." Being asked by them how he was sure of his conversion, he replied, "I make conscience of my thoughts."

NEHEMIAH ROGERS was at Messing from 1620 to 1641, giving this up when he went to St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. One of his works ("*The True Convert*," 1632, an exposition of the three parables of Luke XV.) is dedicated to his parishioners at Messing. He says in this address, "I have travailed in birth again and again that Christ may be formed and confirmed in you. Many a Sabbath have we sanctified together with Prayer and Prophecy. Not any one since my first coming among you (now eleven years and upwards) wherein you have not been blessed with the former and latter rain, Preaching, Catechizing; nor any one month whercin we have not reverently celebrated the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, jointly renewing our covenant with God and (in Him) one with another, over the bleeding wounds of our crucified Saviour. Many a night and day have I wrestled with God by prayer to gain a blessing for you, and in you and your salvation to my own soul; with what sincerity He knows who only knows the heart; and with what fruit many eyes who behold your order both in the celebration of God's worship as likewise in conversation and holy life, are witnesses." He preached

the sermon at Laud's Visitation at Kelvedon, Sept. 3, 1631, speaking strongly for catechizing.

One wonders whether he would have been sequestered had he remained at Messing. He might have escaped like Samuel Collins of Braintree, a man of much the same type—a diligent parochial minister, friendly both with Laud and with Puritan leaders. But it is quite as likely that his strong royalist views would have been fatal to him, as they were to Symons of Rayne in spite of the friendship of Stephen Marshall.

Rogers lost St. Botolph in May 1643; see above. His movements for the next few years are not clear; but when in 1647 John White of Little Braxted got a living in Leicestershire, Thomas Roberts, the patron, did not fill up the living, but procured "supplies," finally Nehemiah Rogers, who remained there till August 1650, when he got the donative of St. Osyth, where he was at the time of the Inquisition, 1650. He was still there when he made his will, 1653, and seems to have remained six years in all. In 1656 he was appointed to the living of Doddinghurst, where he died early in May 1660. His "Fast Friend at Midnight," 1656, is dedicated to Edward Herry's of Much Baddow, "who hath obtained my liberty for the exercising of my ministry."

CHRISTOPHER NEWSTEAD had been appointed to Stisted in 1643. This was sequestered next year, on the ground of some former conduct at Abingdon. But he afterwards got a post at Maidenhead. A petition from him among the State Papers, Feb. 7, 1654-5, states that he had been settled there by an order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers, and an augmentation of £50 had been granted by the Commissioners for Maintenance. But the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers (the "Triers") had refused to confirm this on the ground of his sequestration from Stisted by the Earl of Manchester in 1644. He prays that the augmentation may be continued.

SIMON LYNCH, sequestered from Runwell, seems to have been approved by the Assembly for Blackmore in March 1646-7: he was also granted Augmentation of £50 out of the Improprate Rectory of Mountnessing.* But there were complaints in 1650 that he was brought into the parish by Stephen Smith, Esq., without the consent of the well affected inhabitants. His stipend was £30. He remained there till his death in 1660, though according to his epitaph "sequestered, prosecuted and persecuted to the day

* MS. Bodley, 325, fo. 84.

of his death by Gog and Magog." His experiences were probably like Newstead's. Walker says that he had the offer of a place worth £400 a year, would he have complied with the times ; but as easy as these terms might appear to others, they seemed very difficult to him ; and therefore he utterly rejected them. This is on the authority of Lynch's son ; but it is probable he feared his sequestration might be brought up against him.

CHARLES FORBENCH, sequestered from Henny, served, according to Walker, the small curacies of Sandford and Iffley next Oxford, each worth to him about £8 a year.

EDWARD JENKINSON, sequestered from Panfield, was at Little Holland at the time of the Inquisition, 1650.

Walker says that LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, sequestered from Purleigh, had a very poor living, too poor for most people to take. From the Walker MSS. it appears that he, like Rogers, supplied Little Braxted.

WILLIAM PINDAR, deprived of Stock and of Langdon Hills, was engaged by the churchwardens of the latter to supply the cure 1648-1650. Mr. John Russell who took duty at South Ockendon for many months in 1646 and 1647 may well be the John Russell from whom Chingford had been sequestered.

I know of no other cases of sequestered Essex ministers getting livings. Christopher Webb, sequestered from Sawbridgeworth and Gilston, was in 1650 at Little Maplestead, value £20, which the patroness made up to £30.

An interesting case connected with Essex people is that of Anthony Farrington, sequestered from Bray. Sir John Bramston in his *Autobiography** says that he had usually frequented St. Gregory's, Dr. Mossam's, Dr. Wild's, Dr. Gunning's, or some other congregation where the orthodox clergy preached and administered the sacraments ; but the soldiers often disturbing these congregations, it was not so convenient for his father (the Chief Justice) to appear there. He went one day into Milk Street Church, where there was plenty of room. Mr. Robinson (nephew of Archbp. Laud ; afterwards Lord Mayor and Lieutenant of the Tower) being then churchwarden, helped him to a seat and there he heard " Mr. Farrington, that excellent scholar and preacher." Mr. Case had been put in by sequestration from Mr. Jones, but was now called to St. Giles-in-the-Fields, " a much louder call indeed,

* p. 91.

being 3 times more than Milk Street." The parishioners were divided about a successor; some would have an Independent, others a Presbyterian; there were several meetings and competitions, but no agreement nor likely to be; whereupon Mr. Robinson desired that he might put one into the pulpit till they could agree of a choice, and said they should choose whether they would pay him or not. And so he got the pulpit and put Mr. Farrington into it, which he kept two or three years." Next Sunday the Bramstons, father and son, went there, and Mr. Farrington preached again; in a short time the congregation so increased that it was very difficult to get a place. Mr. Robinson put the Chief Justice into his, the churchwarden's, pew. (Farrington continued till an Order was issued ordering all sequestered ministers to leave London. St. Gregory-by-St. Paul's was the church of Dr. Hewit, beheaded in 1658. Robert Mossom, afterwards Bishop of Derry, held at the time St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, said* to be the one parish church in London where the Book of Common Prayer was read. George Wild, also afterwards Bishop of Derry, preached at one time at St. Gregory's, and afterwards at a house in Fleet Street. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, used to carry on services in the chapel of Exeter House in the Strand.)

JOHN HALKE of Upminster calls for notice. He had been sequestered in 1646, after a long enquiry with appeals. But on Nov. 26, 1646, the Committee were informed that he was a man very well affected to the Parliament and of very good learning and very well qualified for the work of the ministry, not charged with any misdemeanour either in life or doctrine. The Committee† leave him therefore at his liberty to find out what preferment in the church he can procure. Some light is thrown on this case by some MSS. in the Library of the House of Lords (Hist. MSS. Commission Report VII, Appendix p. 48).

Oct. 26, 1648. Petition of John Halke, minister of God's Word. About three years since a malicious complaint was made against petitioner by some of the inhabitants of Upminster to the Committee for Plundered Ministers, but was dismissed by that Committee, and petitioner's innocency publicly vindicated. But his adversaries with-held his dues and profits and over-rated him for taxes, and again complained to the Committee, charging him for breach of an agreement, and the complaint being heard in

* See Newcourt.

† MS. Bodley, 427, f. 49.

the absence of petitioner's chief counsel, the Committee sequestered him from his living of which he owned the advowson and on which he had spent much money. The Parishioners have broken open his house, seized his goods, and commenced several malicious suits against him. The Committee have however since testified of his fitness for the ministry, and given him leave to seek preferment notwithstanding his sequestration . . .

Annexed are (1) Copy of order of C.P.M. dismissing the first charge against him, 19 Nov. 1644.

(2) Copy of order permitting him to seek preferment notwithstanding his sequestration, 26 Nov. 1646.

(3) Certificate of inhabitants of Upminster of his moral life and conversion; that he has preached the Word of God faithfully and to edification, and has constantly exhorted to stand by the Parliament.

(4) Similar certificate of ministers, July 1, 1648.

But the other side is given in (5) Petition of inhabitants of Upminster. Wearied with the misdemeanours and contentious practices of John Halke, their minister, they tried all peaceable means to be rid of him, which by his falsehood proved ineffectual. At length on a full hearing they obtained an order of the Committee at Romford for the sequestration. He has now obtained a summons from the House, against the present minister, and has, they hear, secured a certificate in his favour from ministers in the City, for none in his own neighbourhood would testify or him. They pray the case may be dismissed, to prevent this vexatious man after so many hearings from further impoverishing them, as they would rather leave their dwellings than ever receive him again as their minister.

(6) Copy of order of C.P.M. for hearing of case against Halke on the new articles, 18 Sept. 1646.

(p. 52) Petition and answer of Marmaduke James, minister of Upminster Sept. 11, 1648. . . . The matters in Halke's petition have been already debated before the C.P.M. and he has been sequestered after a full hearing. The order of Nov. 26 1646, permitting him to seek preferment elsewhere was soon after reversed. He prays that he be not further troubled, and that Halke may be dealt with according to justice for his strange presumption. . . .

Annexed are (1) Copy of order of C.P.M. sequestering Halke

from Upminster for deceitful and unfaithful practices and for profaning the Lord's Day, Oct. 12, 1646.

(2) Copy of order appointing Marmaduke James to officiate the cure in his place, Oct. 15, 1646.

(3) Copy of Order annulling order of Nov. 26, 1646, which permitted Halke to seek preferment elsewhere, July 20, 1647.

We hear nothing more for a long time; but in 1658 he petitioned for liberty of preaching. This was referred to Nye, Caryl, and Peters. On April 22, Cooper, Manton, and Peters recommend that he shall be allowed to exercise his gift whenever presented to a living, if the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers agree. He claimed and recovered Upminster in 1660; but it would seem refused to conform in 1662. The living was vacant by cession in September, and his name appears on the Nonconformist list of 1663, though not named by Calamy. Will proved 1678.

PAYMENT OF "FIFTHS."

It was laid down by ordinances of Parliament that if the private income of a sequestered minister and his wife did not reach a certain amount, his wife and children should be allowed normally one-fifth of the net income of the benefice.

But it was one thing to be awarded this, another thing to get it paid. Intruders often refused to pay, or paid very irregularly. Fuller* enumerates seven evasions: 'Covetousness will wriggle itself out at a small hole.'

(1) They plead that, taxes being first deducted, tithes are so badly paid that they cannot live and maintain themselves if they must still pay a fifth part out of the remainder. "Such consider not, if they cannot live on the whole grist, how shall the families of such sequestered ministers subsist on the toll?"

(2) As the ordinance said "*Wife and children*" they denied it to apply if there were no children or only one child, or children but no wife.

(3) If the sequestered minister had any private means, or had got since any place to officiate in, though short of a comfortable subsistence, they denied payment.

(4) "They affright the said sequestered minister, threatening to new article against him for his former faults."

* Ch. Hist., xi, vi.

(5) Many who have livings in great towns disclaim benefit by way of tithe, and accept simply as benevolence ; and then say nothing is due to the sequestered minister out of their free gratuities.

(6) They hold that the ordinance did not hold good after the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

(7) As the ordinance applies only to those who do not disquiet the peaceable possession of the new minister, they threaten those who sue for fifths as disturbers.

“ Many more are their subterfuges, besides vexing their wives with the tedious attendance to get orders on orders, so that as one truly and sadly said : ‘ The fifths are ever paid at sixes and sevens.’ ”

Fuller’s evidence is strictly contemporary, and would suffice if it stood alone. But it is fully borne out by the records of the Committees. These do not give the alleged reasons for not paying (except possession of private means), but show that it was very hard to get some men to pay, and bear out Fuller’s words about “ tedious attendance.” To start with, there were naturally frequent disagreements about the actual value of the living. Even now it is said that livings often go up in value when an exchange is in view, and down when a grant is sought ! The Local Committee for the Becontree-Barstable Division had to settle the value at several places ; they took into account all sources of income, including the “ Easter-book ” ; but as the fifth part was free of all taxes and charges it might not be more than one sixth of the *gross* income. At South Hanningfield, Mrs. Stevens was to receive £10 out of £60 ; at South Ockendon, Mrs. Gouldman (for herself and her seven children) £25 out of £160. The fifths from Dagenham and from Chigwell were each put at £16. But at Danbury £24 was paid out of £120 ; at Dunton £20 out of £100. The records of the Committee for Plundered Ministers are full of cases about Fifths ; petitions, orders for payment, settlement of disputes, and the like.

The following is a list of Essex cases in these records, probably not complete :—

Abberton (Warner)	Much Holland (Cherry)
Asheldham (Michaelson)	Horndon on the Hill (Hurt)
Barling (Williams)	Kirby (Kidby)
Great Birch (Collingwood)	Matching (Snell)
Brightlingsea (Pettit)	West Mersea (Woolhouse).
Little Burstead (Wells)	Cold Norton (Middleton)
Chelmsford (Michaelson)	Navestock (Fisher).

Chickney (Mitchell)	South Ockendon (Gouldman)
Chigwell (Utye)	Peldon (Cornelius)
Dagenham (Trew)	Pentlow (Alston)
Debden (Wilson)	Rayne (Symons)
Dunton (Norton)	Runwell (Lynch)
North Fambridge and	Springfield (Tourney)
Greenstead by (Jarvis)	Stanway (Baldock)
Colchester	Stock (Pindar)
Fyfield (Reade)	Theydon Garnon (Wright)
Goldhanger (Swenow)	South Weald (Baker)
Little Hallingbury (Fysh)	Wethersfield (Tennison)
East Ham (Fairfax)	Willingale Doe (Watts)
South Hanningfield (Stevens)	

The fragment of the County Committee Book for 1646 mentions also grant of fifths to Mrs. Dove of Foulness.

A few troublesome cases may be noticed.

(1) DAGENHAM.* Committee for Plundered Ministers, April 8, 1645. Mr. Coleman, to whom Dagenham is sequestered, do forthwith pay Mrs. Trew her fifths.

May 1. The Romford Committee to hear all parties†.

May 8. That Committee‡ appoints case to be heard at the White Hart on Thursday, May 15.

June 12. Fifth part fixed at £16 per ann. free of all expenses and charges, to be paid half-yearly; but whether by Mr. Coleman or by some of the parishioners is left to the C.P.M.

July 10. C.P.M.§ Mr. Coleman is according to his own proffer to give bond to Henry Elsley, Esq., Clerk of the House of Commons. The Romford Committee is to consider the question of arrears.

1646, May 23. Romford Committee. Petition of Katherine, wife of Charles True, against Henry Coleman, clerk. By order of C.P.M. Mr. Coleman ought to pay £16 per ann. to Mrs. True, to be paid by the farmers of the Vicarage tithes.

June 18. Coleman fails to appear. Adjourned till July 2 [no further references in Romford Committee book].

July 7. C.P.M.|| Petition of Katherine, wife of Charles Trew, under certificate of Romford Committee. Mr. Coleman has shown manifest contempt to the order of this Committee. If he does not pay all arrears in eight days the said Vicarage will be sequestered from him.

* Add. MSS. 15669, fol. 51.

† fol. 63.

‡ Add. MSS. 37491.

§ 15669, fol. 108.

|| 15670, fol. 139.

1647, Oct. 14. C.P.M.* Petition of Katherine, wife of Charles Trew, referred to Sir William Hicks and four other members of the County Committee, to hear and witness, compose differences, and report to this Committee.

(2) SOUTH HANNINGFIELD. C.P.M. Oct. 18, 1645†. The Romford Committee to examine all matters between Mr. North to whom South Hanningfield is sequestered, and the wife of Mr. Stephens from whom it is sequestered.

Oct. 30. Romford Committee‡. To be considered this day week.

Mr. North brings charges against Mr. Thorogood, one of this Committee.

Nov. 27. North confesses the living worth £60 a year; Mrs. Stephens to have her full clear fifth, ordered as £10.

Jan. 17, 1645-6§. C.P.M. Mr. North to pay Mrs. Stephens her fifths in obedience to several orders, or show cause.

Feb. 7. North|| complains that the Romford Committee are still considering the case. They are to settle by March 24.

1646, Sept. 18¶. North has hitherto refused to pay anything. He has now left the sequestration. The Committee are to appoint sequestrators to gather money due to Mr. North, and to pay the fifths out of this.

For the difficulty Mrs. Gouldman of SOUTH OCKENDON had in getting her fifths for herself and seven children, see *Essex Review*, January 1923. See later for difficulties about fifths at PELDON.

There were difficulties at Brightlingsea in 1647—the fifths there were only £8. But on Mr. Wilkinson explaining, the Committee supported him in not paying to Mrs. Pettit until she gave up full possession of the house.

The record of the Inquisition of 1650 has the following notices of the payment of fifths. These are probably not exhaustive, as the returns from the Colchester district are very compressed, and some parishes elsewhere may not have thought of stating their

* 15671, fol. 242.

† 15669, fol. 194.

‡ 37491.

§ 15670, fol. 9.

|| fol. 19.

¶ fol. 223.

outgoings. On the other hand this need not mean that the fifths were always paid regularly and promptly ; only that the obligation was acknowledged.

Alphamstone.	Smith to Stuart.
Barling.	Negoose to Williams.
Belchamp Otten.	Sequestrators maintain six children of the late incumbent.
Chelmsford.	Mott to Michaelson.
Chickney.	Archer to Mitchell.
Dunton.	How to Norton.
Gosfield.	Smethies to Crosse.
Great Hallingbury.	Hales to (Thurman).
Halstead.	Sparrow to Webb.
East Ham.	Churchwardens to Mrs. Fairfax.
Cold Norton.	Malden to Middleton.
Pentlow.	Alston enjoys parsonage house and glebe for his fifth part.
Purleigh.	Rogers to Washington.
Runwell.	Okeley to Lynch.
Little Sampford.	Pennington to Webster.
Stisted.	Clarke to Newstead.

The following cases where payment of fifths was escaped are noteworthy :

ASHELDHAM, March 3, 1646-7. The Committee* on March 10, 1644-5, granted to the wife of Dr. Michaelson, Rector of Chelmsford and Vicar of Asheldham, the fifth part of each benefice. Mr. Gutry, Vicar of Asheldham, alleges that it is worth only £60, and " seated in an unhealthfull aire " ; that he has a wife and four children ; and that the Rectory of Chelmsford is of far greater value. The Committee therefore discharge Asheldham from further payment of fifths, but leave Mrs. Michaelson to receive the said fifth out of the Rectory of Chelmsford.

HARVARD-STOCK†. Mr. Pindar had obtained an order in August 1646 ; but objections were considered by the County Committee, whose report was to the effect that Mr. Pindar was possessed of a farm of £35‡ per annum, lying in Springfield, formerly let at £40, and of another in Stock of £12, and that he had upon his departure a house well furnished with goods and plate worth by estimation £200. The Plundered Ministers Committee therefore cancelled their previous order.

* MS. Bodl: 324, f. 167.

† 324, MS. Bodl: t. 113.

‡ or £25 ; a figure has been altered.

THE "INTRUDERS."

It is often held that the ministers put in the place of those sequestered were mostly illiterate men. This is no doubt true in some cases ; it is proved by the contemporary statements of Featley and Evelyn, as well as by special statements as to certain parishes. But it is not true of the great majority.

In most cases the Minister appointed to the sequestration is described in the Order of Parliament as " Master of Arts." As regards Essex, these ministers fall into two main classes :

(1) " Plundered Ministers," *i.e.*, Puritans or Parliamentarians, driven from counties where the Royalists were predominant. Probably to this class belong a large proportion of those now appointed without any previous traceable connection with the county. Careful examination of lists of clergy in such counties would probably furnish a number of names, *e.g.*, was the Edward Wyrley or Warley, whose name occasionally occurs, identical with Edward Wirley of St. Ebbe's, Oxford ? As it is, our information is only incidental. Thus we learn that Solomon Carswill*, to whom Woodham Ferrers had been sequestered, was in May, 1646, returning to the West, from whence he had been driven by the King's forces. [He returned to St. Germans, Cornwall, whence he was ejected† in 1660.] The same is said, Dec., 1645, of Mr. Moyes or Noyes, of Horndon on the Hill. So Philip Pinckney‡, a plundered minister to whom Stanway had been sequestered, was in October, 1645, returning to his own county of Wilts, from whence he was driven by the King's forces. He was first at Denton in Wilts, and afterwards at George Herbert's old parish of Bemerton.

Thomas Micklethwaite§, a member of the Westminster Assembly, was put into the sequestration of White Roding. Towards the end of 1645 he returned to his own county of Yorkshire (Cherryburton), from whence he was driven by the King's forces.

A few others are also noticed as " plundered ministers," *e.g.*, Gabriel Wyersdale of Lexden, Richard Babington of Ingrave, Robert Atkins of Rayne, and John Hoffman of Hornchurch. Nehemiah Holmes, first of Stock, then Southminster, then Writtle, and finally Matching, is probably another case ; he had lost his letters of Priests Orders in the war.

* Add. MSS. 15670, f. 78.

† Add. MSS. 15669, f. 225.

‡ Add. MSS. 15669, f. 200.

§ MS. Bodl. 324, f. 139. cp. Add. MS. 15669, f. 175.

(2) But a larger number had previously held curacies or poorer livings. (This must have been a very good time for unbeneficed clergy and for young men who had just left College.) Instances are very numerous, *e.g.*, John Petchie of South Ockendon had been curate of Havering; Mark Mott of Chelmsford and William Guthrie of Asheldham had been curates of those parishes under Dr. Michaelson. Or, to take examples from Ongar Hundred: John Lavender, M.A. (Queens', Cambridge,) appointed to High Ongar, had been in 1637 curate of Kelvedon Hatch and Doddinghurst; he was still at Kelvedon in 1641, when his signature comes first in the "Protestation," followed by those of Anthony Luther and Samson Sheffield. To the sequestration of Stapleford Tawney was appointed Daniel Joyner, M.A. (Emmanuel, Cambridge), Rector of Chipping Ongar since 1635. On his death in 1645 Thomas Horrocks, M.A., St. John's, Cambridge), a clerical schoolmaster at Romford, succeeded till 1650, when he went to Maldon. His successor at Tawney was Nathaniel Ward, also a Cambridge M.A., probably a former rector of Hawkwell. To the sequestration of Lambourne came Gamaliel Carr, M.A. (Queens', Cambridge), Rector of Twinsted, in the north of the county, since 1615-6; on his death about 1648 his son, of the same name and college, succeeded; he had been instituted to Markshall in 1642, but had subsequently got the sequestration of Aldham and resigned Markshall. Philip Saunders, appointed to Magdalen Laver, had been curate of Cranham in 1610, of Hutton by 1622; in 1634 he had been suspended for nonconformity, and driven from the diocese.*

Of other "intruders" in this Hundred, the bulk are known to have been university men, *e.g.*, Peter Watkinson, M.A. (Trinity, Cambridge) at Chigwell, John Ferriby (Oriel, Oxford) at Theydon Garnon; Matthew Elliston (Alliston), M.A. (Queens', Cambridge) at Stanford Rivers; Constant Jessop (Dublin: incorp Oxford) at Fyfield.

In the Hundred of Harlow, Jeremy Dyke, M.A., appointed to the sequestration of Great Parndon, had been for some years vicar of Stanstead Abbots; he was son of a former vicar of Epping. John Yardley, M.A. (Trinity, Cambridge), put into Sheering, had been P.C. of Blackmore from 1637. On the other side of the county, Nathaniel Carr, who had been at Langenhoe from 1616, got Ardleigh, sequestered from John Nettles in 1644. In 1655 he moved to Boxted, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity.

* Lauds Troubles and Tryall, p. 532.

Ralph Josselin of Earls Colne records in his Diary several offers of sequestrations. In June 1643 he was offered Fordham and Thaxted; he preached at the latter place, but would not accept the sequestration.* In November he was offered Stanway, but declined. In October 1644 the Stisted people referred to Mr. Burroughs and himself whether Mr. Archer or Mr. Templer had the clearer call to the town. There was great division; it was offered to Josselin himself.† In October, 1654, he was again offered Thaxted.‡ But he declined in all cases; probably mainly because, being a cautious man, he preferred to stay where he had an undoubted title rather than go to a place from which he might at any time be turned out, either by Royalist success in the war, or by the death of the sequestered minister. Also probably he did not relish the idea of going to a quarrelsome and divided parish, like Thaxted and Stisted.

A case where Walker, though he may have foundation for his statement, gives a false impression, is that of Francis Ong of Peldon, who, Walker says, had been Lady Eden's coachman. He certainly went to the University late, and had a struggle to get through. He was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1632, "born in Suffolk, son of John Ong, 'plebeius,' now long dead, of Hartest; educated privately at Chappel; age twenty." He migrated to Peterhouse in 1637, and took his degree that year. At the Visitation of 1637 he was curate to Osboldston of Parndon. He was ordained priest in 1638 by Roger (Mainwaring), Bishop of St. David's (late Rector of Stanford Rivers). In 1643 he was appointed to Peldon, sequestered from John Cornelius. The books of the Plundered Ministers Committee have many entries about his refusal to pay Mrs. Cornelius her fifth part. The case ran on for years; at one time the Committee talked of sequestering Ong; whether he ever did pay is not clear; his case was that Mrs. Cornelius had sufficient private means. In 1660 Cornelius was restored and Ong ejected; but in 1662 Cornelius moved to Clavering, vacant by the nonconformity of John Moore, and vacated Peldon, to which Ong was now instituted. He was there at the time of the Bishop's visitation, 1664; but his will was proved in March 1666-7.

The legal position of the "intruders" is often misunderstood. The great bulk at least of the clergy turned out from 1642 onwards

* p. 13.

† p. 20.

‡ p. 30.

were not, strictly speaking, deprived, but only sequestered. Their freehold was not forfeited, but they were prevented from enjoying it. This was the equivalent of suspension, both from officiating and from income, rather than deprivation. Livings may now be sequestered from clergy for misconduct, and also for debt; though since imprisonment for debt has been abolished the clergyman may be allowed to discharge the cure at the rate which otherwise might be paid for a curate. In the case of sequestration (and suspension) for misconduct, the cure is placed, for the period named in the sentence, in the hands of a nominee of the Bishop; and the sequestered clerk is forbidden to interfere; he is allowed only such money as remains after the cure is provided for. In the case of those sequestered by the Long Parliament, the sequestration was normally for an indefinite period. The income of the living was received by sequestrators and paid (or in the case of very big livings, a large portion of it paid) to a minister appointed by the Committee for Plundered Ministers and approved by the Westminster Assembly; the wishes of "well affected" parishioners would have great weight. The sequestered clerk was deprived of the income from his living and forbidden to officiate in the parish. But whereas lay Royalists whose estates were sequestered could recover them by submission and payment of a heavy fine, sequestration of clergy from the livings was permanent—a great mistake; those whose only charge was "disaffection" should have been allowed to return at the end of the war, or to be appointed to other livings on making a proper submission. In the later years of the Protectorate Gauden, of Bocking, pressed such restoration upon Thurloe, but nothing came of it. Hence a large number of clergy and their friends had a strong sense of grievance, and sought at the Restoration to "get their own back" in more senses than one. And just as nearly all men once sequestered were kept out indiscriminately during the Interregnum, so all were restored indiscriminately later. And just as the Royalist and Laudian clergy suffered worse than the laity, their sequestrations being permanent, so at the Restoration the Puritan clergy suffered far more than the lay Parliamentarians.

But these sequestered clergy were not formally *deprived* of their livings, which would be vacated only by death, resignation or cession. In this case a new appointment to the living was formally made by the patron, if a "well-affected" layman; or by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, or later, by the Lord Protector; sometimes by the parishioners. The ministers so

nominated were down to 1649 formally instituted and inducted by the officials of the deprived bishops, *e.g.*, Dr. Heath and Dr. Aylett. When the "Triers" or "Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers" were appointed in 1654, their certificate was the equivalent to institution and induction. 1649-1653 is the obscure period.

Naturally the minister in charge of the sequestration was most frequently appointed to the living; but this was not necessary nor by any means constant. Three instances may be given here of such *renewed* appointments, and three of *new* appointments. In many cases we find a formal appointment to a living previously sequestered, without any definite statement that the sequestered minister was lately dead.

(1) EAST HAM. John Page was appointed to the charge of this living, sequestered from Dr. Fairfax, by April 1653 (in succession to John Horne). Fairfax died in 1655; Page was appointed to the living, and approved by the Triers, July 1655.

(2) DANBURY. This living was sequestered, about 1644, from Clement Vincent to John Chandler. In 1646, Chandler having relinquished, Richard Mann succeeded, and was still there in 1650, paying "fifths" to Vincent. But in April 1652, Vincent being dead, Mann was formally presented to the living by the Keepers of the Great Seal.*

(3) GREAT PARNDON was sequestered Dec. 25, 1643, from Dr. Osboldston to Jeremiah Dyke. Osboldston died about the end of 1645, and Dyke was admitted to the living March 5, 1645-6.

(4) FYFIELD was sequestered in April 1643 from Dr. Reade to Constant Jessop. Jessop was succeeded by Edmund Brewer and he by Henry Havers, who was in charge when Reade died Jan. 1649-50. Anthony Walker was presented by the Earl of Warwick early in the year, though Havers was in charge, by consent, till Michaelmas.

(5) DEBDEN was sequestered in 1644 from Dr. Wilson to Hugh Glover, desired by the inhabitants. But in Feb., 1652, Thomas Carter was presented to the living, vacant by Wilson's death. Glover went to Stanway and subsequently succeeded his old Vicar, Stephen Marshall, at Finchingfield.

(6) ARKESDEN was sequestered from George Beardsall to Samuel Ball. In 1648 Robert Pepys was appointed Vicar, on Beardsall's death.

* Add. MSS. 37692.

Two cases of voidance by cession have features of interest. Dr. Edward Young was Rector of both Heydon and Hadstock. As the result of charges brought against him and his curate, Thomas Punter, Hadstock was sequestered from him to Ephraim Garthwaite, and then (May 1645) to Thomas Wallis. Young, however, retained Heydon. In 1652 he was presented by the Commissioners of the Great Seal* to Ansty, Hertfordshire. Then Hadstock as well as Heydon was regarded as void by cession, and Wallis was formally presented to Hadstock, April 26, 1652.

SHENFIELD was in April, 1643, sequestered from Dr. Childerley to Henry Goodyere. Childerley dying near the end of 1645, John Kidby was presented by the vacant living 1645-6. He had been sequestered from Kirby-le-Soken; by his appointment to Shenfield he ceded his former living, to which John Herne (Heron) was appointed. But Goodyere and some of the parishioners of Shenfield protested against the appointment to their parish of a man sequestered from another; the result was that Kidby was sequestered from Shenfield also (March 1646 7). Goodyere remained in the sequestration, but must soon have left, as Nathaniel Ward was put in Sept. 14, 1647.

Thus it was always recognised that the death—or cession—of a sequestered minister rendered the living vacant, and that the ministers of sequestered livings had no freehold office. But whereas under the Long Parliament the patron had nothing to do (officially at least) with the appointments to such sequestrations, under the Protectorate patrons frequently presented to them as if the living were fully vacant, *e.g.*, Lady Saltonstall presented Abraham Garnons to South Ockendon in 1655, though Francis Gouldman lived to be restored. Thus the distinction was much less noticeable; the new minister was secure against being ejected by the patron; but it never ceased to exist.

RE-INTRUSIONS.

In 1647, when the quarrel broke out between the Army and the Parliament, many of the sequestered clergy thought that "when thieves fall out, honest men come by their own." They therefore claimed possession of their livings, regarding Parliament to have lost its power; and sometimes produced a (fictitious) declaration of Fairfax in their favour. A number of such cases occur in the records of the Plundered Ministers Committee†, and

* Add. MSS. 36792.

† Add. MSS. 15671.

some in the Journals of Parliament. Often they simply claimed their tithes, calling upon the parishioners to pay them to them and not to the intruder; such was the action of Brian Walton at Sandon,* Grey at Mashbury,† and Cherry at Great Holland.‡ In some cases they took possession of the rectory house, or succeeded in officiating in the church. Thus at Stock the parishioners declare, Aug. 14, 1647,§ that the sequestrators are honest and well affected persons; but Pindar from whom the living is sequestered has, by combination of divers of the said parish, opposers of these sequestrators, intruded himself into the said church, and taken upon him to preach and officiate there. But it would seem this was when there was no minister in charge, Holmes having left for Southminster. Pindar, who evidently had many friends in both his parishes, was somewhat later engaged by the churchwardens of Langdon Hills to officiate there—apparently for some years.

At ARKESDEN, Beardsall, the sequestered minister, intruded himself into the possession of the Vicarage house and glebe. The local Committee was instructed to remove him and settle Ball there (July 14 and 22). Two members of this Committee (Thorogood and Williamson), accordingly went to Arkesden, saw Mrs. Beardsall and asked her to give up possession. She replied that she would lose her life first. The Serjeant-at-Arms was instructed to arrest Beardsall for contempt; the Justices, Sheriff, constables and “all His Majesty’s loving subjects” were to assist him.|| A fresh complaint from Ball and order thereon is found under August 11.¶

From Stapleford Tawney we find in the Lords’ Journals, IX, 389 (Aug. 20, 1647), the petition of Thomas Horrocks, “That Richard Nicholson, proved a notoriously scandalous minister before the House of Lords for drinking, swearing, quarrelling, hath by pretence of his Excellency’s authority demanded my parsonage house and glebe, usurped my pulpit, notwithstanding I showed him his Excellency’s order to the contrary; after publishing whereof by me, he contemningly kept the key of the church door, called the people to witness that I refused to give way to him to officiate in the afternoon, with many implied threats.” Order was made that Horrocks was to have peaceable possession, or treble damages to be paid.

* f. 119, 188, 224, † f. 181. ‡ f. 236.

§ f. 174.

|| ff. 129, 154.

¶ fol. 168.

Nicholson's brother, John Nicholson, D.C.L., refused to pay tithes to Horrocks, and was summoned to appear before the Committee. His wife appeared for him and promised he would pay, (July 20, 1647). As he had not paid by August 13, the Serjeant-at-Arms was ordered to bring him up. His wife again attended and asked that this order might be forborne (Aug. 27). He was to be heard on Sept. 16. On Oct. 1 the entry is that Dr. Nicholson has satisfied Mr. Horrocks for his tithes, and is therefore to be discharged from his commitment to the Serjeant-at-Arms.

From BRIGHTLINGSEA our account seems incomplete. It had been sequestered from Robert Pettit (instituted June 11, 1626-7). It was first in the hands of Richard Hutton; and on his removal to Cumberland, George Wilkinson was appointed (Nov. 1645). He agreed to pay Mrs. Pettit £8 as fifths. But on June 22, 1647*, complaint was made that he had refused to pay more than £6. He was ordered to pay all arrears forthwith; in default the Vicarage was to be sequestered from him. His defence (considered July 9-10) was that he had fully satisfied Mrs. Pettit who, in defiance of the Committee's order, remained in possession of part of the Vicarage house. Order was given that she should forthwith yield up quiet and peaceable possession of the house; till this was done, Mr. Wilkinson was discharged from further payment of fifths.

The worst trouble was at LITTLE HALLINGBURY, sequestered from John Fysh to the use of John Wilson. On May 23, 1647, Wilson petitioned for protection; Fysh was endeavouring to detain parsonage house and glebe, was inhibiting parishioners from paying tithes to Wilson, and taking legal proceedings against those who paid. Order was made that Wilson was to be discharged of payment of fifths until he had possession of the parsonage house. The case ran on till July 15, when counsel was heard on both sides; Fysh was then ordered to give up possession by "this night seven-night"; in default, proceedings against him for contempt. On August 14 the Serjeant-at-Arms was instructed to bring him up; on Sept. 8 the Justices of the Ongar, Harlow and Waltham Division were directed to aid Wilson to recover possession.

But Fysh seems to have resolved that if *he* could not live in the rectory house, no one else should do so. When on Oct. 1 he petitioned to be discharged from commitment, it was attested that he had "made great spoil in the house, having carried away

* Add. MSS. 15671, f. 65.

the glass windows and pulled down and carried away parcels of the said house and of the timber and materials thereof." The Committee for the division were ordered to consider the amount of damage; Dr. Fysh was to be retained in custody till he had given satisfaction. On Oct. 21 it was reported that two arbitrators had fixed £30 as the value of corn and tithe detained by Fysh; but had made no award about the spoiling of the house. The question of the dilapidation of the house was therefore referred to Sir William Masham, Sir Robert Pye, Colonel Purefoy, or any two of them. Fysh was to be discharged on paying the £30, and giving his bond to abide by the award.

APPENDIX A : SOURCES.

The surviving records of the Committee for Plundered Ministers are scattered and very incomplete. We have no continuous record of its proceedings till February 1644-5, whereas by far the most of the sequestrations took place in 1643 and 1644. The records of subsequent years do indeed often throw light on these; *e.g.*, when a minister appointed to a sequestration dies or leaves it is generally said how (though not often *when*) he came to be there; and the records are full of cases of the wife of a sequestered minister being awarded her "fifth part" and often having trouble in getting it. But these notices are incidental only; and even they end in 1647.

The continuous records beginning as above were probably compiled from the original minute books and orders, for use in the office of the Trustees for Augmentation. They form two series, the first and fullest of which ends in October 1647, while the other continues till the dissolution of the Long Parliament by Cromwell in 1653.

(1) This series is arranged in very rough *chronological* order from February 1644-5 to October 1647. It comprises four volumes, of which Nos. I, II and IV are in the British Museum; No. III in the Bodleian. Add. MS. 15669 covers Feb. 1644-5—Dec. 1645; 15670, Jan. 1645-6—October 1646; MS. Bodley 324, Oct. 1646—April 1647; Add. MS. 15671, May—Oct. 1647. This series only occasionally notes grants of augmentation, but includes all other matters coming before the Committee.

(2) Arranged in order of *Counties*, with many blank pages. This extends from 1645 to 1653, consisting almost entirely of

notices of augmentations. All these volumes are in the Bodleian (MSS. Bodley 322-3, 325-9). The first two cover from September 1645 to November 1646; there is then a gap till October 1647, the point where the other series ends; then the rest continue from 1647 to 1653.

There are also some volumes of orders of augmentation in the Public Record Office, running fairly parallel to some of the Bodleian MSS. See Shaw.

Ecclesiastical notices are occasionally found in the surviving records of County or Local Committees. For Essex we have as follows :—

(1.) A fragment—some twenty-five leaves—of the Minute Book of the County Committee, covering just over three months of 1646 (from the end of January to the beginning of May). This was in 1711 in the possession of Thomas Cox, who sent extracts from it to one of Walker's publishers (MS. J. Walker, C. VII., 158). It subsequently came to Morant and is with his other MSS. among the Stowe MSS. in the British Museum (MS. Stowe 164). See below, under Walker.

(2.) Another fragment of a County Committee book (Harleian MS., 6244) extends from the beginning of July, 1649, to Dec. 7 of that year—nearly six months. (It has lost twelve pages in September-October). It deals largely with sequestrations and fines imposed on those who had taken part in the rising of 1648, or had failed to send men to the siege of Colchester. It is probable, though not clear in most cases, that the clergy here named were in trouble on this account.

Several men had to attend the Committee, but were finally discharged; e.g., Thimbleby Holden of Little Warley and Anthony Nicholas of Willingale Spain. In some cases a sequestration was taken off; e.g., Thomas Moody of Hazelegh and Blower of Fairstead. Order was given for the seizure of the estates of Alexander Bonyman of Pleshey, and of John Cornelius (late of Peldon).

Most details are given about Richard Pulley of Fordham, Thomas Reynolds of Radwinter, and Antony Sabridge of Stondon Massey. On July 25 it was ordered that Richard Pulley should appear next day and make his defence; otherwise the committee would proceed upon the proofs they had or should receive (11b).

On Aug. 10 the order runs :—"That on a full hearing of all his witnesses, his estate both real and personal be forthwith sequestered." (17a.) This shows how and when he lost Fordham ; he was soon appointed to Wickford.

About the end of September it was ordered that Reynolds' estate should be seized for the benefit of the county, and on Nov. 22 that the depositions and proofs in the case be sent within fifteen days to the Committee for Plundered Ministers, that they may be satisfied on what grounds he was sequestered by this Committee. Mrs. Reynolds asked for her fifth part, which was granted. (Reynolds was restored, but this was brought up against him in 1655.)

On July 13, "It being not fully proved that Mr. Sabridge was at Chelmsford at the time of the insurrection and he positively denying it, offering to adventure all he hath upon it, and having no other full proof of his delinquency—ordered that his sequestration be respited until further order, and tithes paid to him in the meantime." In margin "(It is) desired that the parish will come to some accommodation with him."

On Aug. 8 the sequestration was discharged.

Other ecclesiastical orders were that Mr. John Rogers of Purleigh should pay Mrs. Washington her fifth part (Aug. 15) ; that Mr. Smithes of Rayne should pay Mrs. Symons hers ; that Goldhanger parsonage house "so much out of repair in the tiling and glazing that the minister and his family cannot remain there in the winter without much danger to their health," be put in repair, also the Church.

Mr. (Ralph) Jocelyn of Earls Colne received £15 for attending on Col. Harlackenden's regiment in the time of the last insurrection ; so also Mr. Burrow (of Pebmarsh) £10 for his attendance on Col. Cooke's regiment before Colchester.

Jocelyn also received £12 for his great losses at the hand of the enemy. Another notice mentions the opposition and plunder at Earls Colne. Widow Harris there "was a great sufferer by the march of Goring's forces ; they plundered to the value of £30. Her two sons did gallantly oppose the army in Earls Colne. It is very earnestly desired her condition may in due time be taken into consideration by this Committee as to her compensation."

(3.) MS. Stowe 842 is the Minute Book of the Committee for the *Borough* of Colchester ; also formerly belonging to Morant.

(4.) The fullest is the Committee Book for the Becontree-Havering, Chafford-Barstable division*, usually meeting at the White Hart, Romford. It records meetings from Nov. 1, 1643, down to 1654, with some assessments till 1656; but after the end of 1646 are several long intervals when no meetings are recorded, especially between September 1648 and May 1649 (though there are in existence elsewhere letters written by the Committee on October 15 and December 8, 1648); and from May, 1650, to April, 1651. There are notices of 180 meetings.

The MS. was preserved by the Mildmay family—probably originally by Carew Hervey Mildmay of Marks, Romford.

Several case of disputes about “fifth parts,” not all strictly within this division, were referred to this Committee: Dagenham, Chigwell, South Hanningfield, South Ockendon. Sequestrations are mentioned at West Ham and Corringham, and clergy of other parishes are often mentioned.

APPENDIX B: WALKER'S *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

The best account of the book which goes by this name (an abridgment of an impossibly long title) is that by Mr. G. B. Tatham (Cambridge, 1911). He gives a Calendar of the Walker Collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

Walker's book, like Foxe's, has suffered from undue applause on the one side, as though final and infallible, and from the inevitable nemesis of hyper-criticism on the other. The difference is that while Roman Catholic criticism of Foxe had little influence in England, Nonconformist criticism of Walker was influential from the first. Like Foxe, Walker is a thorough-going partisan, but he is, like him, also a diligent student. “He went through an amount of original research and showed an appreciation of the value of first-hand sources. . . . In dealing with the mass of material which he collected he displayed not only great industry but also not a little skill. . . . He was careful in his statement of the main facts, accurate in quotation, and on the whole a trustworthy guide in the history of the time which he chronicles.†”

For our purpose the Second Part of the book, dealing with individual cases, is alone in question.

Walker has a number of cases in Essex where he reasonably infers a sequestration from the ejections from such parishes in 1660

* Add. MSS. 37491.

† Tatham, p. 134.

recorded in the Nonconformist list of 1663 ; but cannot discover the *name*. Also in a few cases he knows the *name* of a man sequestered, but does not know the *parish*. In the following cases such gaps can be supplied :—

(1.) Where Walker knows the *parish*.

Birch Magna.	William Collingwood.
Birdbrook.	John Thompson.*
Hallingbury Parva.	John Fish.
Langdon Doe (Langenhoe).	Jacob Lane.*
Nether London (Nether Laindon, <i>i.e.</i> , Laindon cum Basildon).	William Heywood.
Samfield (? Panfield).	Robert Sparke (?).
Theydon Mount.	Daniel Whitby.
Upminster.	John Halke.

(2.) Where Walker knows the name of the man, but not the *place*.

Burges, Eliseus.	Canewdon.
Clay, Timothy.	Wickham St. Paul.
Crosse, John.	Gosfield.
Dove, Rabosh.	Foulness.
Evelt, William.	Yeldham Parva.
Holmes, Walter.	Southchurch.
Jackman, Simon.	Ingrave and West Horndon.
Kindleton, Francis.	Magdalen Laver.*
Stuart, Rowland.	Alphamstone.
Strutt, Edward.	Faulkbourn.

Errors, wholly or partially :—

Blake, Samuel.	South Weald. As Walker suspects, a duplicate of Samuel Baker.
Boniman, Alexander.	Walker makes him sequestered from Kelvedon. But he left that place in 1640-1 for Pleshey, where he was in fact sequestered.†
Browning, John.	Sequestered from Great Easton and Rawreth, not Hornchurch.
Cherry.	St. Osyth ; must be identical with Cherry of Great Holland.
Collins, Samuel.	Braintree. Not sequestered. Newcourt and Walker confuse him with a namesake.
Cornelius, John.	Sequestered from Peldon ; but did not go to Clavering till 1662.

* Denotes a peculiar case ; see Petitions to House of Lords, 1660 ; in some cases the ejection in 1660 did not follow from a previous sequestration.

† MS. Egerton 2650, 360.

Eyres, Thomas.	Lost Great Horkesley but kept Mile End.
Heard, Thomas.	West Tukeley = <i>Timothy</i> Heard of Takeley.
Honifold, Gabriel.	Sequestered from St. Mary Magdalen, Colchester; gave up Ardleigh by 1642. (John Nettles was sequestered from there.)
Long, Joseph.	Lost Fingringhoe, but kept Great Clacton.
Rogers, Nehemiah.	Gave up Messing 1641 on going to St. Botolph, Bishopgate, where he was sequestered.
Searle, Nicholas.	Lost Bobbingworth, but kept Widding- ton.
Styles, Matthias.	Lost his London living, but kept Orsett.
Watts, Geoffrey.	Resigned Clavinging, but kept Great Leighs.
Young, Edward.	Lost Hadstock, but kept Heydon.
Obscure cases :—	
Bernard, Nathaniel.	Probably not Essex.
Emsted.	Possibly a curate of Hempsted was turned out; but see later.
Ivy, William.	There was one of this name at Theydon Bois, not worth sequestering, shortly before this time. But Arthlington, where Walker's man was appointed in 1646, is in Northamptonshire.
Marshall, Thomas.	Walker's authority is a letter from John Pyke, Weston, Herts, that Thomas Marshall, ejected from a living in Essex, had the vicarage of Wiston till his death. I know of no Thomas Marshall in Essex about this time. Walker's or rather Pyke's suggestion of Finchingfield confuses with Stephen Marshall.
Smith,	Messing. Siday Smith succeeded John Preston (Nehemiah Rogers' immediate successor), whose will was proved 1657.

Thus while there are not a few cases where Walker's information is defective or inexact, there are only a few cases where he supposes a sequestration where there was actually none, or gives a clear doublet. He may indeed have a man actually sequestered from another parish than that given by him, or a living actually sequestered from another man.

But he is by no means complete. Besides the above lists, where he knows men but not parishes, or a parish but not man, a large number of undoubted sequestrations are omitted altogether.

Thus of the twenty-two at least of the Ongar-Harlow-Waltham Division, he omits three : Fisher of Navestock, Lewis of Nazing, Parker of Hatfield. In Chelmsford he omits at least Forster of Buttsbury, Peyton of Fryerning, Duncan of Rettendon, South of Writtle. Thus his omissions greatly exceed all names wrongly added.

He indeed was fully conscious of many omissions, and that much of his information was of uncertain value. Where he is most out is in his estimates of the total number of clergy sequestered, which bears no proper relation to the number actually recorded. But it is a great mistake to suppose that his conjectures as to numbers, or some occasional inaccuracies, discredit his general reliability, or suggest that his lists are above the actual total.* On the contrary, they are well below the mark, as can be shown wherever any amount of fresh evidence has come to light. For Essex Davids, who is far superior to the Nonconformist tendency to minimise the sequestrations, has a large number not in Walker—possibly a few too many.

In comparing Walker with Calamy it must be remembered that Walker brought out only one edition ; Calamy had practically three editions, and had no false shame in correcting his own previous mistakes.

Of such Walker MSS. as relate to Essex the most valuable or interesting are :—

MS. J. WALKER, C. 1, 27. A long account by Simon Lynch of his father, Simon Lynch of Runwell and Blackmore.

C. 2, 101. Account from Archdeacon Warley of a number of clergy, especially Michaelson of Chelmsford (and church affairs there) and Meighen of Much Braxted—this last attested by Major Ayloffe.

C. 3, 90. From Alexander Lindsey about Westrop of Much Totham. He refers Walker to Major Henry Ayloffe, J.P., of Much Braxted.

C. 3, 91. Letter from Ayloffe about Westrop. He had heard many pleasant stories of him, but never that he vented immodesties in the pulpit or was in any way vicious. He was a woman-hater ; Ayloffe had heard of some rhymes fixed on his house door as an invective against the female sex, ending thus :—

“ into this house
No female creature enter, Rat or Mouse ! ”

* See Tatham, p. 130.

C. 3, 130. From Philip Browne of Sandon. Samuel Smith refused the Sacrament to any but those of his own congregation. On Wells being appointed in succession to Walton, Smith kept forcible possession of the house until the Bailiff of the Hundred got in by breaking through the roof.

C. 3, 149. From Ayloffe about Cherry, Washington, Wright, and others. He knew nothing of Washington before his sequestration, but saw a good deal of him when he was engaged by Mr. Roberts to take the service at Little Braxted.

C. 3, 178. John Cole of Much Hadham, about Cherry and Dowell at Great Holland.

C. 5, 105. Long account of the sequestration and troubles of Josiah Tomlinson of High Ongar. (Given above.)

C. 6. Copy of extracts from proceedings of the Earl of Manchester's Committees—much of this is in Cole (partly from Grey), but Walker is an independent source.

The Essex Committee is given in full, 18.

C. 7, 158. From Thomas Cox, Rector of Broomfield and Stock, to "Mr. Nicholson, Bookseller, at the Queen's Arms in Little Britain, London," one of Walker's publishers. He first mentions several clergy in his neighbourhood who lost their livings in the Rebellion, but lived to recover them at the Restoration. "I do not give any account of their ill usage or their families, because I do not know." But he will do what he can to recover this.

What follows is important, as showing the whereabouts of the present fragment of the register of the Essex County Committee in November 1711, the date of the letter.

"The following Particulars are taken out of a Piece of a Register of the Transactions of the Committee at Chelmsford, which I have by me." (Now MS. Stowe 164.)

Feb. 21, 1645. Patrick Maxton, Rector of Canfield, who dyed a little before; his executors are summoned to the Committee to give an Account of his Will and Inventory, and Prosecution for his debts stopped. His Brother, one of the Executors, is stiled a Delinquent. If his living was not sequestered it is probable his Estate after his Decease was.

MARCH 3, 1645. Mr. Dove, Vicar of Foulness, is ordered to give peaceable possession of the Vicarage to the sequestrators appointed by the Committee and find sureties for his good

behaviour, because he had opposed Authority in not obeying former Orders ; and his wife, Mrs. Sarah Dove, had the fifth part of the Vicarage appointed to be paid her half-yearly for the maintenance of herself and children the next day.

MARCH 11, 1645. Mr. Mitchell, Rector of Chickney, had a Controversy with the Sequestrators of his Parish before the Committee. He was sequestered, but upon the hearing he was allowed his Corn, Hay, Dung, Hop-poles, and Tilths ; but all his further allegations against them voted frivolous and vexatious.

(?) APRIL 10, 1646. Mr. Watts, who had been sequestered out of his spiritual living at Chesterton in Cambridgeshire by the Earl of Manchester, and was informed of by Mr Jefferyes of Chelmsford, a sequestrator, that he had the Lease of the Improprate tithes of Elmsted in Essex, appeared before the Committee ; and proving that he paid Taxes, Rates, and other publick Dutyes, was permitted to hold the Parsonage ; and the Seizure made March 15 before was discharged.

APRIL 18, 1646. Mrs. Nighborough [sic], wife of Mr. Thomas Nighborough, late Minister of Pedmarsh, was ordered to depart the county because she had been with her husband in the King's Quarters. No doubt his living was sequestered.

MAY 9, 1646. Mr. Overed, Minister of Toppesfield, is fined 78^{li} for concealing Mr. Burnell, a Delinquent, but it is not said he was sequestered. [See below].

“ These are all I can find in my small compasse of 25 leaves ; if they may add anything to the Author's collection I shall be very glad ; and if not, I satisfy myself that I have contributed my mite to a worke which I cannot but wish well.”

A few notes may be added here :—

(1.) This fragment of 25 leaves recorded the proceedings of the Committee, January to May, 1646. (Now Stowe MS. 164, No. 1.)

(2.) Walker speaks of a worthy man sequestered from Emsted. This has naturally been taken to mean *Hempsted*. But Walker's source is clearly Warley's account*, which speaks of Emsted in Tendring Hundred, i.e., *Elmstead*. There was apparently no sequestration from the *Vicarage* of Elmstead, but the above notice shows that Warley had heard of Watts' Rectory being sequestered.

* MS. J. Walker: C. 2, 101.

(3.) "Nighborough"—Wighborough, one more variety of spelling of the name. Their sufferings are recorded in *Mercurius Rusticus*, but this item is fresh.

Even a cursory examination of the Walker MSS. raises one's opinion of him as a historian. His mistakes are almost always due to his sources. Thus, his account of Richard Pulley of Fordham comes from his son, John Pulley, also of Fordham; possibly only the *date* is wrong. The assignment of Thomas Marshall to Finchfield in Essex also comes from Walker's informant. The account of Ong at Peldon comes from Warley. "Mr. Cornelius sequestered out of Keldon (*sic.*). Lady Eden, a devout woman who much frequented Lectures, had one Ongue for her coachman. This Ongue turned preacher and was put into this living."

The entry about Overed of Toppesfield runs in Stowe MS. 164, 21a.

"Saturday, 9th of May, 1646. John Overed, Minister of Toppesfield, brought in and paid to Mr. Josselin forty pounds in part of threescore and eighteen pounds due for a concealment of Doctor Burnells, and hath till the first of June next to pay the residue."

APPENDIX C. JOHN MICHAELSON.

One of the fullest and most authentic accounts of the "Sufferings of the Clergy" is that of John Michaelson, D.D., Rector of Chelmsford. Walker draws partly from "*Mercurius Rusticus*," the account in which may well come from Michaelson himself; partly on a letter from Archdeacon Warley, which rests wholly or mainly on an account given by Thomas L . . ngy, who lived then at Chelmsford, but was living at Saffron Walden when Warley wrote*; Sir John Bramston, in his Autobiography, confirms some points and adds others.

Michaelson, a Scotchman, became Rector of Asheldham, Feb. 28, 1614-5, and also of Chelmsford Oct. 27, 1623. At the Visitation 1637 his curate at Asheldham was William Guthrie, apparently a fellow-countryman; and at Chelmsford, Mark Mott; these became incumbents of their respective parishes on Michaelson's sequestration. He was according to Bramston "a very learned man and an excellent preacher, bating but his Scotch tone and pronounciation of our language." He was no Laudian; in 1629 his name comes third in the petition in favour of Thomas Hooker,

* MS. J. Walker; C. 101.



The South-East View of Chelmsford Church in the County of Essex.

From "The Beauties of England and Wales," published in 1772.

and in 1632 he was reprimanded for coming into church simply to preach without attending the previous service. Mather, in his account of Hooker, speaks very well of him. But "Mercurius" says, "Before this Parliament was called, of this numerous congregation (two thousand communicants) there was not one man or woman that boggled at the Common Prayers or refused to receive the Sacrament kneeling. But since this magnified Reformation was set on foot this town is so filled with Sectaries, especially Brownists and Anabaptists, that a third part of the people refuse to communicate in the Church Liturgy, and half refuse to receive the blessed Sacrament, unless they may receive it in what posture they please to take it,"

In August 1641 the House of Commons passed an order for taking away all scandalous pictures out of churches. There was then at the east end of the chancel a fine window, untouched from the first foundation of the church, in which was painted the history of Christ from His Conception to His Ascension; "and to perpetuate the memory of the benefactors, in the vacant places there were the escutcheons and arms of the ancient nobility and gentry who had contributed to the building and beautifying that fair structure." In obedience to the above order, the churchwardens removed the pictures of the Blessed Virgin and of Christ on the Cross, supplying the places with white glass. But the Sectaries were "very ill satisfied with this partial imperfect reformation; that therefore they might, according to the phrase of the times, make a thorough Reformation, on the fifth of November in the evening all the Sectaries assembled together, and in a riotous manner with long poles and stones beat down and defaced the whole window."

This was the beginning of Michaelson's troubles. Next Sunday he preached against popular tumultuous reformations even though to the better, as vitiated (1) by the defect of lawful authority, (2) "in the intemperancy of the prosecution, who commonly cast out one devil by another, abolishing superstition with sedition." This so incensed the Sectaries that they threatened to ruin him if he preached any more on that subject. A carbine was fired at a window of the room where he usually was, but he had been unexpectedly called away. A fortnight later, a young clothier, with others possessed by the same frenzy, came into the church just at the close of the service, "laid violent hands upon the doctor, took him by the throat, would have torn his surplice off his back" and

endangered his life, had he not been rescued by some of his peaceable parishioners ; so they only reviled him as Baal's priest and a popish priest for wearing the rags of Rome, and as having violated his faith engaged in the Protestation to abolish Popery [which Protestation had clearly been taken at Chelmsford as elsewhere]. Many attempts were made on him and his curate in officiating divine service and administration of the Sacraments ; but, as they were countenanced by a considerable part in the town, the sectaries could do little till in June, July and August, 1642, Chelmsford became a rendez-vous of newly-levied troops, each company staying there till made up to three or four hundred. The soldiers, egged on by the Brownists and Anabaptists, used Michaelson's house as their quarters, consumed his provisions for his family and commanded them as lords. Among many outrages committed by them, three are most noteworthy ;

1) On a Fast Day they told the Doctor not to pray for the Bishops or even mention them, else they would pull him out of the pulpit and tear him in pieces. He however ordered his curate to read the prayers appointed ; but when he did so, the soldiers (volunteers of Colchester and Ipswich, designed for Lord Saye's own Regiment) sitting irreverently with their hats on made a noise to drown the curate's voice, calling him to come out of his Calves Coop (the Reading Desk) and make an end of his Pottage. On his giving over, they seized the Bible to tear it up ; but being reproved by Serjeant-Major Bamfield, they took the Book of Common Prayer instead, carried it out into the street and tore it up ; some of the leaves they trod under foot, cast others into the gutter, and fixed some on the end of their clubs and cudgels and in a triumphant manner marched with them up and down the town.

2) About a week later, when he was in the chancel going to bury the body of a gentleman lately deceased, the soldiers rushed into the place to throw him into the same grave, because he was using the Burial Service ; but he was powerfully rescued by his parishioners. This is confirmed by Bramston (p. 124) : " He was one day at the grave burying a corpse, with the Book of Common Prayer in his hand ; the rabble threw him into the grave, and had buried him and the book doubtless (for they began to throw earth on him) had not some of the wiser townsmen rescued him."

3) When the news reached Chelmsford that the House of Commons had voted down episcopacy, there was great rejoicing and lighting of bonfires, most of the fuel being taken from the Doctor's

woodyard. The Separatists assisted by two companies of soldiers assaulted his house in the evening, seized him and were ready to carry him to the fire and throw him into it ; but some of his friends hearing of the design informed the commanders, who took a guard and rescued him.

Finally, " he was forced to forsake his charge, as many other godly ministers were, and to fly for his life, leaving his wife and eight children to the mercy of the rebels, who have deprived his family of all their livelihood and exposed them to extreme want ; nay, they have several times broken violently into his house under pretence to search for him, and have held pistols cocked and swords drawn at the breasts of his children and servants, charging them on their lives to reveal where the Doctor was."

Walker's correspondent adds that his wife and children were turned out of doors, and by the help and charity of their friends and relations, added to their own industry, they got a mean and contented life till the Restoration. When the heat of the War was abated Michaelson came over by stealth to visit his wife ; but " being discovered by some evil eye or other, he was immediately seized upon, and the County House of Correction being at that town, he was thither committed to prison"—[much worse than ordinary prison.]

He had been formally sequestered in February 1643-4. Mark Mott, his former curate, was appointed to the sequestration ; he took as his first text, " Curse ye Meroz." Next year Mrs. Michaelson was awarded the fifths from both parishes ; Guthrie of Asheldham got excused March 1646 7, on the ground that Asheldham was seated in an unhealthful air, and that he had a wife and four children ; but Mott paid. Michaelson's son John was deprived of his Fellowship at Wadham by the Visitors.

Bramston says that Dr. Michaelson lived upon the charity of good and loyal men, after he had sold that little estate in land which he had and fled into Holland. His money wasting there, he came again to England and took a little house at Writtle, where he and his wife lived, " and was relieved by the kindness of my father, myself, and other charitable men, among whom was Dr. Warner, Bishop of Rochester." He was with Bramston's father, the Chief Justice, when he was taken with his last illness in 1654. Returning from seeing his wife, who lay ill at Writtle, " he prayed with my father, after which he desired the doctor to give him the absolution of the church (I think the doctor asked him the question) ;

which the doctor gave, and he devoutly and thankfully received," dying within an hour after. He was buried by Michaelson in Roxwell Church on October 6, "according to the prescribed form in the Common Prayer. Mr. Richard Argall (Rector of Aythorp Roding) preached his funeral sermon. "Very many of the gentlemen of the county attended his corpse to the grave, and all the neighbouring yeomanry that had any regard for loyalty."

At the Restoration Michaelson recovered both his livings, but on being soon after presented to Orsett he resigned Asheldham in favour of his son John. (Mott went to Great Wratting in Suffolk, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity.)

In his later years Michaelson was the occasion of the quarrel between Bramston and Henry Mildmay of Graces. It had been questioned who was liable to repair the bridge over the Cann; Michaelson recollected having been told when some slight repairs were made years before that the timber came from Moulsham Frith. An action was brought against Lord Fitzwalter of Moulsham Hall, but decided—Bramston thinks not quite fairly—in his favour. Henry Mildmay, his brother in law, then said that there was no colour to charge my Lord with the repairs; but that one Michaelson ought [= owed] my Lord money and would have paid him with this indictment. "One Michaelson?" said I, "what Michaelson?" "Dr. Michaelson," said he. "Why cannot you give him his title, Doctor?" "What, is that," said he, "a feather in his cap?" "By your leave," said I, "the title is great and good; I do not know but it is as good as colonel, at least an apocryphal colonel." Michaelson was, Bramston says, now very poor and old, "and so much the more liable to contempt, and the fitter object of my care and concernment for him." He died in 1675; his son, the Rector of Asheldham, in 1682.

Walker's correspondent gives also an account of iconoclasm at Chelmsford. "Almost at the top of the spire was then a wooden cross coated over with sheet lead. The roof of the body of the church, which is very high, seemed to rest on the heads of divers Angels' resemblances, which resemblances were solid wood as large as the body of a man, and placed on the sides of the church just beneath the roof at distances from one end thereof to the other. The inside of the roof was adorned with a great number of angels displayed as if all on the wing overhead and large bodies. The chancel then had a costly and extraordinary fine window. This cross and these angels by the then governors at a great cost and

the hazard of many men's lives were all cut down and burnt in the street, and then the mob with poles and staves broke the window to shatters."

He adds some stories to show that the Presbyterians when dominant did not show the respect for tender consciences which they claimed for themselves. The Chelmsford Brownists were several times haled from their conventicle and made to serve God in Mr. Mott's way. "These Brownists, having very tender consciences and fearing they might be suspected of idolatry if they were uncovered in that place, would very stubbornly clap on their hats, and then some of the congregation would in violent zeal pluck them off again. This condescension towards those tender consciences I have seen in Mr. Mott's presbytery. As for the Anabaptists, I do not remember they had any meeting in the town, but the ringleader and chief preacher of them was one called Parson Oates, and they had him arraigned for his life before the Judge of Assize, then at Chelmsford, for murder, for that a convert of his died upon being dipped by the said Parson Oates.

"Mercurius" adds to the account of Dr. Michaelson: "It was lately certified from thence by a chief member of that town and no friend of the Doctor's, that he finds the case there to be far worse than he expected. . . . They find that either the power is fallen into their hands that are far beneath them, or else hath raised these men up far above them; for as he writes, The Town is governed by a tinker, two cobblers, two tailors, two pedlars, etc."

On "Parson Oates," see Brook's *Lives of Puritans*, quoting from Edwards' *Gangraena*. This Samuel Oates was father of the notorious Titus Oates of the "Popish Plot."

APPENDIX D: RICHARD DRAKE OF RADWINTER.

The Latin autobiography or diary of Richard Drake, rector of Radwinter, who is probably best known as the first editor of Andrews' *Private Devotions*, is found in MS. Rawlinson, D. 158, in the Bodleian; also in a shorter form in MS. Baker, 36 (MM 1. 47), in the Cambridge University Library, which unfortunately omits the English documents at the end. It breaks off abruptly in 1658, though Drake lived till 1681; there are a number of pages left blank in the Rawlinson MS. We get in this diary a good idea of the views, practices, and experiences of a younger Laudian.

He was born April 21, 1609, in the parish of St. Peter Cheap.

His father, Roger Drake, was a mercer, apparently living at the "Three Nuns," which seems to be shown near the corner of Wood Street in the view of Cheapside in La Serre's book. He was elected Sheriff in 1639, but fearing troubles ahead refused to serve, and so paid a heavy fine. He had two other sons, Roger, a Puritan physician and divine, and John.

Richard was for seven years at school at Epping, under Abraham Puller; then for a year under Thomas Farnaby. In 1624 he entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he became Greek Scholar; B.A. 1627, M.A. and Fellow 1631; B.D. 1639. He was ordained deacon 1634, priest 1635, by Francis White, Bishop of Ely. In 1638 his father presented him to the living of Radwinter, where he soon began to repair and adorn the church; this was one source of his troubles. He seems not to have been conciliatory; his parishioners were certainly prejudiced and suspicious. He regarded his liability to repair the chancel as giving him full control over it; so he levelled and repaired the floor, blocked up a doorway, and erected a new screen in place of a rotten old one. On this were figures of cherubim, which the parishioners regarded as images of Christ, and declared that Drake worshipped them. But in July, 1640, the soldiers going to war with the Scots were instigated by some parishioners to break down these figures, which they burned in Saffron Walden Market. Threats were made against Drake personally, but he was away at Cambridge. In September, 1640, he preached at the Bishop's Triennial Visitation at Great Dunmow, being protected by soldiers under his friend James Reynolds, commander of a foot regiment.

Charges were brought against him before the Grand Committee on Religion in 1640-1, and on Feb. 27 he was condemned by forty out of seventy-three, Sir Thomas Barrington being strongly against him. He interviewed John White, the chairman, who told him that this meant that he was unfit to hold office; but the Lords would have to hear the case, and he could minister in the meanwhile. (The charges and answers are given elsewhere, p. 76). Richard Durden, the churchwarden, one of his strongest opponents, now offered a compromise; the parishioners would drop their charges if Drake would allow them to choose a curate, and would pay him £100; he refused. Durden now put the Table below the steps, now in the middle of the chancel, now in the north corner, now in the nave of the church; and several times refused to provide bread and wine for Communion. Apparently Drake had started

monthly Communion, while Durden and his party were satisfied with a quarterly one. He is noted as refusing on Aug. 1, Oct. 3, Feb. 26. On Sept. 21, "Richard Durden took away the church door keys and so hindered the parson from coming to church to read divine service that day, being the feast of St. Matthew, and so all the week after ; which he is bound by the rubric to read daily and which he did till thus interrupted."

These are mentioned in a list of "Affronts and Insolencies Committed in the parish of Radwinter against the divine service and the ministers thereof." The chief are as follows : it will be seen that Durden's opposition was comparatively mild.

Feb. 18, 1641-2. Abraham Chapman, a cobbler, stole two service books out of the church. He coming up towards the chancel with a bastinado in his hand met the parson, who demanded of him what his meaning was. "I have nothing to say to you, sir," quoth he, "but I must have the surplice and hood." To whom the parson, "No, Goodman Chapman, I hope you have no such meaning ;" and so "whil'd" him about in the church, till the curate had conveyed away the surplice and hood. At last, no counsel prevailing with him, he snatched out of the parson's hands, who held him with all gentleness and courtesy, saying, "I will have them." But not finding what he sought for, he took away two service books lying in the chancel, which were seen under his arm at his coming out of the church, and after being asked where they were, he said he threw them behind the church.

Feb. 21. John Traps, a tailor, came insolently into church in time of divine service and with his hat on his head confronted the curate with these words : "Are you at Mass again ? I'll have one to fetch you down presently." He also contemptuously said that those books which Chapman took away were mass-books, and that the bell tolled twice a day to mass.

March 1. The said Traps did and said again to the same purpose.

March 8. Forty or fifty boys and girls coming suddenly into the church made a most horrid noise in time of divine service, profanely abusing the Confession, Lord's Prayer, etc., and jangling the bells. κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ᾄδον (lit. "a bad egg of a bad crow.") God bless them from the curse which fell upon the children who mocked the prophet Elisha.

March 10. The wives of John Montford and Thomas Cornel

conveying themselves closely into the chancel cut the surplice about a foot deep before and behind.

March 13. John Smith, a blacksmith, desired the curate to christen his child, but to omit the sign of the Cross, according said he, to the Protestation which we have all taken. The curate answered, but the smith could not be satisfied, and thereupon departing displeased said that he should not then either pray or preach there that day. But upon second thoughts, bringing the child, as soon as it was christened he violently snatched the child out of the curate's arms, before he had signed it with the cross ; to the general offence of the sober minded and to the encouragement of others in disorder ; for at another christening in the afternoon a woman attempted the like.

March 17. George Traps in service time came up to the reading desk and threw to the curate a base pamphlet (called an Answer of the Roundheads to the Rattleheads), saying " There is reading work for you, read you that."

March 24. After a burial in the churchyard widow Seaman and the wives of Richard Smith, Henry Smith, Samuel and Henry Reef [?] and Josias Ward, coming impudently upon the curate as he was passing from the grave, laid violent hands upon him, drew their knives and near his throat cut and rent off his surplice and hood in a most barbarous manner before the whole congregation ; and so carried away their spoils, triumphing in their victory.

1642. April 8. At the christening of Alice, daughter of Richard Clark, John Traps confronting the curate by coming up close and standing in a daring manner by him, told him that he should not have her out of the godmother's arms, nor sign her with the sign of the cross ; and to that end flung the cloth over the face of the child, keeping his hand upon it and saying " It is the mark of the Beast."

June 2. The curate entering the desk to say evening prayer was told by Edward Montford that if he went to prayers he and his companions would go to ringing. The curate replied he would answer it then to authority. However in the middle of the Confession, Montford, Cowland, Chapman, and one Wait, a stranger, all animated by Montford who would bear them out, began to jangle. That done, in the Psalm and Lesson Montford specially derided the words which were read, with blasphemous answers, impious mockeries, unseasonable Amens ; crying out, " Hold your

peace, Hob ; down on your knees, Hob," with much laughter ; scornfully pulling off his hat and clapping it on again ; bending the knee and bidding others to do so in derision while the Lessons and hymn were reading ; then went they again to chime and jangle, with incredible performances as words and gestures, and so went out of the church. But when they came at the church gate they returned again, with what intention God knows ; Montford, Cowland and Waite came immediately up to the reading-pew, told the curate they must pray with him, opened the door, came in, thrust him out ; whereupon he departed with silence. " Now I like your obedience," quoth Montford ; Cowland told him he had been well enough served to have been taken by the heels and had his brains beaten out.

June 12. The wife of Richard Smith at the christening of Giles Albion's child detained the child when by the rubric it should be delivered into the arms of the parson, though he demanded it of her often. She obstinately refusing so to do, the curate repaired to the reading-pew, expecting their recantation or submission to go out of the church. The service and congregation being disturbed too long, the father of the child moved the said Smith's wife to deliver the child to the curate. But being it seems of too intemperate a spirit, immediately after the words " I baptize thee," etc., she made fresh disturbance, labouring to hinder the signing of the child with the Cross ; she covered the child's face with the linen and kept it down with her hand. Another woman, reported to be Richard Durden's wife, laid hold on one of the curate's hands, which was kept behind him by the father of the child.

" The insolences were so many that they seemed to tire a greater patience than mortality can attain unto. These are more than enough to show the disposition and temper of Radwinter."

He prosecuted some of the ringleaders at Chelmsford Assizes July 21, 1642. He gives the Bills ; all were found true Bills by the Grand Jury, but nothing apparently came of it.

He gives the text of the summons from John White to appear before the Grand Committee, pointing out a mistake in the date. " Where were John White's brains, that dated the summons of the 9th of December commanding me to appear on the 18th of this instant month of January ? " He then gives the articles with his answers. [Given elsewhere.]

To return to his diary : His first curate was Augustine Rolfe,

M.A., of Queens' College, Cambridge ; he left, owing to persecution, June 24, 1641. He was succeeded on Nov. 28 by William Shepherd, M.A., of Trinity Hall, who left on Aug. 24, 1642, to be with Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor. Drake, going to Cambridge for Stourbridge Fair, engaged a new curate, Thomas Garnham, B.A., of Gonville and Caius College, who came Oct. 1. Drake's father was imprisoned for a while at Gresham College ; released Dec. 23.

The climax came when Drake returned to Radwinter Jan. 14, 1642-3. He met at Walden Thomas Bendish, returning from Oxford ; and received the King's Proclamation, offering pardon. This he published at the Sunday service. He was attacked by William Voyle and others, shut out of the pulpit and thrust out of the church, not without great danger to life. After vainly appealing to the Justices he consulted his friends at Cambridge, went to Norfolk and Suffolk, paid a secret midnight visit to Radwinter on Feb. 5, and thence to London.

He gives a copy of a certificate attested by witnesses of the assault on him in the church, Jan. 15. " William Voyle, pretending authority to be the lecturer of the aforesaid parish, whence or how we know not, coming into the church in the time of divine service with a great cudgel in his hand, came directly to the reading desk where the aforesaid Richard Drake was performing his duty ; and in a violent manner pulled open the door, crowded in, laid both his hands upon the said Richard Drake, endeavouring to thrust him out of the desk. Richard Drake thereupon labouring to go into the pulpit to preach, was violently pulled down by the said William Voyle. But the said Richard Drake, recovering himself and taking hold with both hands on the pulpit door and the rail, was again pulled down by the said William Voyle, John Smith, Richard Smith, Matthew Spicer and Stephen Sellon, and thrown down in the desk, and from thence haled on his back on the church floor, and getting on his legs again was punched on his back, tugged by his gown, and violently thrust out of the church by Matthew Spicer, Richard Smith, and John Hawkins, a stranger." [This is attested by six witnesses, including Thomas Garnham and John Minot the parish clerk.] Augustine Hawkins of Sampford Magna, said " Let us have him out of the church and knock out his brains " [three witnesses]. John Smith and Richard stamped and trod on him being thrown on the ground in the middle alley [two witnesses]. " And as I was coming near the church door, I was so violently

driven forward that had not some charitable hand, by God's providence, upheld me, my brains had been dashed out against the church door. *Deo liberatori gratias!* "

Drake now heard of new ways at Radwinter; the Common Prayer forbidden; sometimes the doors of the church closed on Lord's Days and no access even to the sermons they profess to love from their very heart! He speaks bitterly of Voyle, whose name he once Latinizes as "*Vilis*" (worthless). "*Intrudit se tandem Vilis ille et nullius pretii, nullius conscientiae, homuncio.*" His special complaint is that he denied the Communion to parishioners according to his own will.

Drake not daring to return, the parishioners greedily seized the opportunity to accuse him to the Essex Committee for Sequestration at Chelmsford, for deserting his cure. An order of sequestration was issued against all his goods and property (so with his books at Cambridge). But, by the kindness of a sequestrator, Mr. Pullen, they were not removed.

He gives a full account of the affronts and insolences against the curate, Thomas Garnham.

1642-3, Feb. 12. Being Sunday, Mr. Garnham was forbid by Richard and John Smith, Nathaniel Andrews and Robert Carter (in the name of the parishioners, as they said) to read prayers or preach. But he going to discharge his office found the church doors shut against him; when waiting till three or four chimings at last the doors were opened. But he going into the desk the Common Prayer Book could not be found. Wherefore taking the Clerk's book, he addressed himself to Prayers. After this they fell to chiming again for the space of half an hour, and then came the Smiths and the others up to the reading desk and violently took the Clerk's book from him, so that there were no prayers that morning.

Feb. 19. Being Sunday, in the morning the keys of the church door being in the possession of Richard Durden, the door was not opened nor a bell tolled, and so no service nor sermon, notwithstanding Mr. Smith and Tho. Banes pressed that the congregation being met should not be disappointed.

Feb. 26. One William Voyle the pretended lecturer (for without any authority either from the Bishop or Parson) intruded into the reading desk where he mangled the divine service after his own fancies. And after sermon he churched a woman in the

pulpit after his own newfangled way, contrary to both form and place prescribed by law.

1643. March 26. William Voyle, making a dissuasive sermon as judging the parishioners ignorant and unfit to receive the Holy Communion, told them that the Word was more necessary for them; that Faith, Repentance etc. which they wanted, was never begot by the Sacrament but by the Word. "And, laying many foul scandals upon the Church of England, said that this (it being Palm Sunday) and Easter Day were and had been two most bloody days in England in regard of many souls damned by unworthy receiving." He professed likewise in the said sermon that he had no power either from God or man to administer it. Which confirmeth the suspicions generally had of him, that he is not in sacred orders, at least not of Priesthood.

April 2, being Easter Day. Few, not ten, receiving the Communion, in the afternoon William Voyle dared to give thanks for God blessing his pains in keeping the people from profaning the Lord's Table.

April 9. William Voyle in his sermon told the people that the prophecy of Ezekiel, c. IX, vv. 5-6-7, is now to be fulfilled. Adding further that Eli's sons are now to be slain; and Moses hath asked, Who is on the Lord's side?

April 16. William Voyle said that Mr. Drake came in at the back door. Which must needs be said either of his coming into Orders, or into his living. The first part is a slander of the Church of England, the second of Mr. Drake's person. And both show the temper of the man, and speak his tongue to be his own.

Drake subjoins a letter of Voyle to Mr. Wells, going into New England, "which came to my hands, nescio qua divina providentia." The most objectionable part to Drake's mind would be "I know not what jar the Lord's Supper may make, if the Parliament shall (according as the Petition was changed in London) make me as they call it Curate. For, for my part, I am resolved (come what will of it, by God's help) now not to administer it; and when I do, if I do it at all, to do it far otherwise than the most famous preachers hereabouts do. . . . The utter casting off of the Book of Common Prayer, and not administering the Lord's Supper, cast me out where I was before." The letter is dated Radwinter, March 25, 1643. Drake notes, "Ex ore tuo, neq. serve."

Drake now had troubles in London. He was committed to Petre House in Aldersgate Street on a charge of malignancy. Being asked, "What have you spent on the Cause?" his answer was that he had been stripped of all; he prayed for the peace of the kingdom. He remained there five weeks, more or less, sometimes tempted "by the Solemn Covenant or the devil." He was released Sept. 21, but had to pay the gaoler £10, more or less.

Oct. 27, his parishioners drew up new Articles against him; he was summoned to appear before the Committee for Plundered Ministers. Voyle wrote to him a few days before that the parishioners would not appear; he put no faith in this, and so appeared, but none of the parishioners did so. [The Articles, and his answers, are subjoined; given elsewhere.]

Oct. 31. He received an order from the Committee for Assessments at Haberdashers' Hall to pay his twentieth part; but made a declaration that he was not worth forty shillings when all his debts were paid.

He now applied to the Essex Committee for Sequestration, that since his absence from Radwinter was due to danger to his life, the sequestration might be taken off. But the reply, dated Chelmsford, Feb. 23, 1643 [-1644] ran: "If the petitioner do not return to his parish and officiate his cure within ten days after notice of this order, the sequestration is to go on, and his goods to be sold." (Signed, Cornelius Wharton, Clerk of the Committee). "But there being no provision made for the security of my person from danger, and apprehending further mischief upon the refusing of the Covenant, which was then violently urged, and without the taking of which no readmission was to be expected, I laid aside all further thought of satisfaction to my petition, and contented myself with my sequestered condition. But though I gave up all hopes of restitution to my living, yet I was not wholly negligent of the recovery, if possible, of my books and goods, all of which were likewise included in the sequestration. Hereupon I made use of my Brother Doctor's interest with the E. of Manchester, to whom he applied himself in manner following:

To the Most Hon, the Earl of Manchester:

The humble petition of Roger Drake, Dr. of Physick, humbly sheweth:— That whereas the parsonage and personal estate of Richard Drake, late Rector of Radwinter in Essex, hath been sequestered by the Committee sitting at Chelmsford, for not officiating in his cure and for not appearing before them upon summons within the time prefixed:

Humbly intreateth your Honour that considering no act of Malignancy

is proved against him, the sequestration of his books and household stuff may be taken off, and it may be lawful for your Petitioner his Brother to take them into his custody. Which as he shall account a singular favour, so he shall study by all faithfulness and diligence in the service of your Honour and the State to make amends as far as in him lies for his brother's backwardness. And your Petitioner shall ever pray."

This was presented April 16, 1644. (The reply was :)

"I do order the books and other goods of the said Richard Drake to be delivered to the petitioner by the sequestrators.

MANCHESTER."

This my brother obtained by the help of his friend Mr. Weaver, as he informed me by his letters. I acknowledge with thankfulness both their courtesies, and will be ready if God enable me to requite them as occasion shall be afforded."

In his diary he speaks of the requirement of the Covenant. "My living was only to be redeemed at the cost of my honour and faithfulness. I refuse to be bound by the Solemn League, i.e., by the bond of iniquity."

Further troubles ensued. His servant was taken as a soldier ; and three constables accused Drake and his father of having resisted them in the discharge of their office. The father was fined £100, being committed to prison till the money was paid, which was done at once ; the son was committed during the pleasure of the Lord General (the Earl of Essex). He was not released till Nov. 30 ; but his confinement was not very strict, as he was allowed to accompany his father who went to Tunbridge to drink the waters.

He has a note of the condemnation of the Prayer Book and prohibition of its use, Nov. 26, adding "Deus bone, in quae nos reservasti tempora ? quid peccavit liber ille pretiosus ? imo nos, Domine, peccavimus !" Also of the execution of Laud, (Jan. 20, 1644-5). "The most reverend father in God, Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the charge of having violated some laws and having introduced as they say superstition and tyranny—that is, having defended, strengthened and fought for the true ancient Catholic religion in the Church of England and the supreme royal authority in these kingdoms, by words, deeds, prayers and example, is beheaded by a new and un-heard-of precedent, by a law passed without the King's authority but a Parliamentary ordinance."

In February Drake was brought before the Committee at Haberdashers' Hall, and ordered to pay £150 on an assessment—half at

once and give security for the remainder, or otherwise be imprisoned at Lambeth. He took an oath before Thomas Atkins, the Mayor, that he was not worth forty shillings, so not liable to pay the "twentieth part," but could not move the Committee. "This is the glorious 'liberty of the subject' they used to set forth!"

In September 1646 he set out to Radwinter to visit his parishioners and friends, but though he called at many houses, saw very few. He subjoins a letter to them, dated Sept. 12, in which he expresses his good will to them. It is somewhat spoilt by the hope that those who owe him anything would pay up without legal action; otherwise the tone is very good. But the letter was not published. "Daniel Minot, the clerk of the parish, was desired by me to read the letter to the parishioners in some convenient place and time. He indiscreetly began to read it in the Church, where and when Mr. Robert Reinolds, the Parliament man, and his brother Captain John Reinolds being present, the reading of it was interrupted by them, and so my charitable inclination was not communicated to the parishioners."

In 1647 his brother John married Margaret Joyliffe. Drake has many notes of their children's birth, baptism, and godparents; where put to nurse, and often death and burial.

To this and the following year belong his work on Andrewes' Devotions. On August 24, 1647 he saw the King for the last time, at Oatlands, kissed his hand, and gave him three English treatises of Bishop Andrewes. On April 22, 1648 he sent an edition to the press, collected from two MSS, and purged of many mistakes, of Andrewes' "*Enchiridium Precum in usum Aegrotantium*" (Book of Prayers for the use of the Sick); June 24, translated Bishop Andrewes' Greek prayers.

In May 1651 he and his brother Roger were in trouble in connection with Love's Plot. They were both arrested on the 2nd; he committed to the Serjeant-at-Arms, Roger to the Tower. Richard was released on security of £400, his father and John Sanders £200 each. Roger was not released till October 15.

On Nov. 8 Drake's father died. "*Ipse ad caelestem Patrem et bonum Deum profecturus, vitae bene actae praemia relaturus, vir pius, pater καλοκαγαθός aeternae nobis honorandus.*" He was buried in St. Peter Cheap "with the faith and rites which ever in life and death he openly professed, of the Church of England."

He notes April 20, 1653, the dissolution of the Long Parliament, quite unregretted! "*Lugente nullo!*"

In 1654 he tells of his courtship and marriage, at the age of 45. On April 11 he first saw Jane Lambert, widow, by the arrangement of Matthew Smallwood, presbyter, in the house of John Sanders. On the 13th he saw her again at the house of her brother John Tufton, merchant, in Gracechurch Street, when he expressed his mind and affections. Two days later (15th) she accepted. There is a long account of his marriage, May 29. They were doubly married (1) before the Lord Mayor in the Guildhall, (2) by Matthew Smallwood at St. Martin Outwich. "After the three publications of banns in the market, by reason of the recent Act, and a license also obtained for contracting marriage according to the Canons of the Church, we first joined hands before Thomas Viner, Mayor of London, and therefore Justice of the Peace, in the Guildhall; witnesses Ralph Tufton, the bride's brother, George Joyliffe, doctor of medicine, and Antony Hinton, my very good friends, whose names are inserted in the paper remaining in the custody of the Mayor; but the aforesaid Matthew, service being performed according to the rites of the Church, joined us more strongly (*fortius*) and happily in the Church of St. Martin Outwich, and then by the most holy mystery of the Lord's Body and Blood all things are completed and perfected."

On October 5 he moved to Richmond in Surrey, to settle there; a few months later he was joined by his brother John. Here he made the acquaintance of Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury.

1655, May 27. "Joyce (*Jocosa*) the only daughter of my wife by her first husband, Edward Lambert, clerk, 12 years old next July, after repeating the catechism was confirmed by Brian, Bishop of Salisbury, at Richmond."

On June 9 a daughter was born; baptized ("*renascitur*") 10th, Trinity Sunday; named Jane, after her mother. Sponsors, Ralph Tufton, Esq., her mother's brother; Lady Mary Anderson, and Margaret, wife of her uncle John. He notes that the baby cut her first tooth on December 29 and her second on the 31st!

1657, June 7. A son born; baptized on the 11th, Feast of St. Barnabas. Godparents, Brian, Bishop of Sarum, Richard Chadwick, Katherine Baskerville. Named Roger, after his grandfather.

The last entry is Feb. 20, 1657-8: "My Jane fell backwards into the fire, but was unhurt, thank God."

Many pages following are blank in the Rawlinson MS. The

Richmond registers record the births of other children:—Carolina Maria, born May 29, 1659; (Charles II's birthday, hence her name); baptized June 3; Charles, May 23 1660; besides several children of John Drake.

Drake was restored to Radwinter at the Restoration. His wife was buried at Saffron Walden Aug. 12, 1662; he resigned, 1667. William Voyle, the intruder, who had himself considerable trouble at Radwinter, left for Hereford in 1646; his successor was Thomas Reynolds, M.A. He was succeeded by George Moxon, apparently in 1659.

Drake was appointed Prebendary of North Aulton in Salisbury Cathedral, September 9, 1662; Chancellor, March 23, 1662-3. He died 18th October 1681, and is buried in the Cathedral. His youngest son, Richard, died December 10, 1704, aged 39, and is also buried there. So also John Drake, brother of the Chancellor, 30th September, 1678, after walking with God 65 years, "pede quidem claudo at recto corde"; also his wife Margaret.

His other brother, Roger Drake, M.D., entered the ministry, and was appointed by the Commissioners of the Great Seal to St. Peter Cheap, 5 May 1653, at the recommendation of the parishioners. He was ejected in 1660. Calamy speaks highly of him, both as a physician and a divine. He had preceded his brother Richard as Greek Scholar of Pembroke Hall. He died 1669. There is a notice of him, but not of Richard, in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

VII. THE PRESBYTERIAN ORGANIZATION OF ESSEX.

The process of establishing the Presbyterian system was a lengthy one; in fact, in most counties it was not completed till the power of the Presbyterians was broken by the triumph of the Army over the Parliament. For Essex we have the constitution on paper; it is by no means clear whether it ever worked.

The stages of the process may be seen in Dr. W. A. Shaw's *English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*. Directions for the election of elders were drawn up by the Commons, July 25, 1645; they were somewhat modified by the Lords, but passed both Houses, August 19. A letter was to be sent from the Speaker to the Parliamentary Committee of each county, to nominate certain persons, ministers and others, "who should consider how the . . . counties may be most conveniently

divided " into distinct classical presbyteries, and what ministers and others are fit to be of each classis.*

The Speaker's letters were sent out in September. By May 12, 1646, a number of replies had been received, among them probably one from Essex (see below). But except in London and Lancashire, nothing more was done for some time.

A new ordinance was passed Jan. 27, 1647-8 "for the speedy and more effectual settling the Presbyterial government,"† Certificates were to be returned by March 25; this was subsequently extended to May 1. The returns from the counties were to be printed. The final ordinance establishing the Presbyterian system was passed August 29, 1648.‡ For details, see Shaw, II., 19.

Essex was not one of the laggard counties. Its Return, printed in 1648, had been approved by the Committee of Parliament January 21, 1647-8. It had been made "March 3, 1646," which ought to mean 1646-7; but as (a) internal evidence shows the list to contain the names of no men appointed later than 1645; (b) one local committee made its return by November of that year; and (c) many county Certificates came in early in 1646, it is tempting to suppose either that 1645-6 is meant, or that "March 3, 1646," is a mistake for "March 30, 1646." But it is possible that while some divisions made prompt returns others were very slow, so that it was not till 1646-7 that all were completed and so sent up to Parliament. In any case, as printed in 1648 it was not up to date.

There are several copies in the British Museum. One of them (4135 A 37) has a number of MS. additions, mostly dating from about 1656. (See later.)

The title is "The Division of the County of Essex into several Classes, together with the names of the ministers and others fit to be of each Classis, Certified by the Standing Committee of that County, and approved of by the Committee of Lords and Commons appointed by Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament for the Judging of Scandall and approving the Classes in the severall counties of England. Printed at London for John Wright at the King's Head in the Old Bailey, 1648."

* Shaw, I. 105-7. C. J., IV: 218, 242.

† Shaw: II, 16. Scobell: I, 139.

‡ Scobell, I, 165.

It is printed by Davids,* but not very accurately [besides inexactness in reproduction of curious spellings, a number of names are omitted altogether.] It is given much more accurately by Dr. Shaw,† with the additions of the Museum copy in brackets. But he, too, has a few errors ; all of any importance are corrected below.

How and when the first draft was drawn up appears from the minute book of the Becontree-Barstable Committee.‡ This gives the copy of a letter to Sir Wiliam Masham, signed by Sir William Hicks, William Toppesfield, Carew Hervey Mildmay, Henry Farre, Joachim Mathews, George Thorowgood, and John Feninge, to the effect that they had agreed at their meeting at Chelmsford to discuss at their next meeting the election of members for the Classis from the Hundreds of Barstable, Chafford and Becontree ; but being pressed to give an immediate return of names, some of them delivered this in writing to the Earl of Warwick. But at their present meeting (Oct. 30, (?), 1645) they find some persons aggrieved at the return made in their absence. As it is important to settle the matter, they have appointed a day for the re-hearing of the same, and ask that their paper may be returned by the bearer.

The result§ appears fol. 81a.

Att the Committee att Romford the 4th day of November, Anno Dmi 1645.

(Present) Sir William Hicks, Mr. Cambell, Mr. Smyth, Mr. Attwood, Mr. Mathews, Mr. ffarre, Mr. Thorowgood, Mr. Feninge.

The names of the ministers and others nominated to bee of the Classis within the Half Hundred of Becontree, Liberty of Havering, and Hundreds of Barstable and Chafford.

BECONTREE AND HAVERING—the Ministers chosen :

Mr. Richard Allen of Westham.
Mr. Slaughter of Eastham.
Mr. Lee of Walthamstowe.
Mr. Humfry Maddison of Wansted.
Mr. John Hoffman of Hornchurch.
Mr. Morse of Romford.
Mr. Nehemiah Dodd of Haveringe.

Sir Thomas Cheeke.

Sir Henry Mildmay of Wansted.

Sir William Hicks.

Thomas Witheringe, Esq.

Mr. John ffenninge.

Mr. Edward Pickering.

* p. 255, f.

† II, 374-392.

‡ Add. MSS. 37491 : f. 8ob.

§ Abbreviations expanded.

Sir Henry Holcroft.	Mr. Thomas Preston.
Robert Smythe, Esq.	William fuller.
Colonell Car: Mildmay, Esq.	John Dodson.
Joachim Mathews, Esq.	

HUNDRED DE CHAFFORD :

Mr. Dannell Duckfield of Childerditch.	
Mr. Jackson of Northokendon.	
Mr. Edmond floord of Magna Warly.	
Mr. John Petchey of Southokendon.	
Mr. Nicholas ffolkingham of Southweald.	
Mr. Roberte Wattson of Cranham.	
Mr. Latham of Stifford.	
William Attwood, Esq.	John Graunte.
Jeams Silverlocke, Esq.	Raphe Jocelyn.
Mr. Thos. Latham of Brentwood	Mr. Isaac Paine.
Capt. John Wright.	Richard Gooday.
Mr. John Sonds.	John Shelton.
Mr. Roberte Smyth.	Thomas Prentice.,
Mr. Roger Taverner.	Mr. Nicholas Thresher.

HUNDRED DE BARSTABLE : The names of the ministers and others chosen to bee of the Classis : Ministers :—

Mr. Richard Babington.	
Mr. Samwell Bridge.	
Mr. Henry Goodier.	
Mr. Richard Carnall.	
Mr. Noyes.	
Mr. Samwel Smyth.	
Mr. Beniamyn Winnington.	
Mr. Marmaduke Jeams.	
Mr. Edward Cliffe.	
Mr. Silverwood.	
Mr. Clerke.	
The Earle of Kent.	Robert Nicholson.
Lieutenant Col. ffarre.	Richard Petchey.
George Walton, Esq.	Richard Amatt.
Mr. ffrancis Bragg.	Thomas Caldwell.
Mr. Reeve.	John Ashen.
Mr. Amatt.	John Webb.
Capt. John Phipp.	John Collyns.
Mr. Lagden.	William Hale, sen.
Samwel Waite.	Henry Greene.
Mr. Sneath.	Mr. Walter Myriall.
Edward Humfry.	Mr. John Radly.

Comparing this list with the printed one of 1648 we notice :
 (1) The elders are not, as in 1648, assigned to their respective parishes. In Becontree and Havering they are arranged in order of rank ; first knights, then esquires, then “ Mr,” then some without any title. The same seems attempted in Chafford and

Barstable, though not carried through ; the list in each case is headed by the men of most position.

(2.) The names of ministers on the First Classis—for Becontree, Havering and Chafford—are precisely as in the printed list and in the same order. The list was, however, out of date before it was printed. Allen resigned West Ham December, 1645 ; Lee had left Walthamstow by July 28, 1646 ; Dod left Havering for Doddington in June, 1646 ; Petchey was gone from South Ockendon by March, 1646-7.

Such changes are found also in other Hundreds, e.g., Hopkins is down for South Fambridge ; the records of the Plundered Ministers Committee show that he was appointed there September, 1645, but in June, 1646, there were complaints that he had neglected the cure and he was replaced by Robert Tourney. " Mr. Clark " is down for " Leez Parva," but Ambrose Wethered succeeded him there June 29, 1646. Mr. North, down for South Hanningfield, had left by September, 1646.

(3.) In Barstable the position is otherwise. The parishes of the ministers are not given in the MS., and only six out of the eleven ministers appear in the printed list ; but these come in precisely the same order, though with gaps between—Babington of Gingrave (= Ingrave), Bridge of Burstead Magna, Moyse of " Horndon super Mount," Wenington of Langdon Hills, Cliffe of East Horndon, and Clarke of Bowers Gifford. But mixed with these come several parishes without minister assigned, viz., Shenfield (3rd place), West Horndon (4th), Hutton (6th), Dunton (8th) and Burstead Parva (10th)—just the places held in the MS. by Goodier, Carnall, Smyth, Jeams and Silverwood respectively. Now we know from MS. 15669 and other sources that Henry Goodyear was at Shenfield 1643-47 ; Richard Carnall at West Horndon 1643-56 ; Marmaduke James at Dunton in 1645 (to Upminster, Oct., 1646) ; and Thomas Silverwood at Little Burstead 1645-6. It is natural to infer that the remaining minister, Samuel Smith, was then at Hutton ; he moved to Fryerning March, 1647.

Thus the list of ministers on the Becontree-Chafford Classis drawn up in November, 1645, was left absolutely untouched when printed in 1648, though several changes had taken place. But in Barstable the idea was to strike out all who had left the parishes for which they were set down, while inserting no new names. But whoever undertook this confused the Horndons, striking out

Carnall, who was still at West Horndon, while retaining Moyes (or Noyes) who had left Horndon-on-the-Hill early in 1646.

(4.) The list of Elders is practically the same apart from titles, except for Becontree. In Barstable there is no change whatever; for Chafford the only alteration is the omission of "William Attwood, Esq." But for Becontree we have a few additional names on the printed list. Mr. John Dickins, senior, (West Ham); Mr. Thomas Muskett (East Ham); Mr. Thomas Lake (Barking—more precisely, Ripple); Mr. Robert White, senior; Mr. Richard Seamer (both of Barking); and Mr. William Cumins, (Romford—Hare Street). William fuller of the MS., may be identical with William Miller of the printed list.

Probably other divisions made returns about the same time, and the names may have been left unchanged in 1648, or may have been reduced. In the printed list the parishes in some Hundreds are clearly arranged in alphabetical order or nearly so; this is the case in the Dunmow division. In other cases the sequence is roughly geographical; in Ongar it starts with High Laver, the parish of the greatest man in the district, Sir William Masham. In some Hundreds it is impossible to trace any clear sequence. But in a number the order seems to be (a) Parishes represented by a minister, with or without elders; (b) Parishes represented by elders only; (c) Parishes quite unrepresented. Where this appears the principle, the absence of a minister's name early in the list suggests that there was a name there in the original list, but that it was afterwards struck out, as in Barstable, because of death or removal. Thus Robert Brooke was probably down for Woodham Walter; he died in 1647. John Smith was probably down for South Shoebury; he went to Great Dunmow about August, 1646.

As in the case of the Rural Deaneries, the division into Hundreds formed the basis of that into Classes; but small Hundreds were included with others, while Hinckford was divided into East and West. Thus the Classes were:—

1. Becontree and Chafford.
2. Barstable.
3. Chelmsford.
4. Rochford.
5. Dengie.
6. Ongar.
7. Harlow and Waltham.
8. Dunmow and Freshwell.

9. Clavering and Uttlesford.
10. West Hinckford.
11. East Hinckford.
12. Lexden.
13. Tendring.
14. Witham-Thurstable-Winstree-Colchester.

Compared with other counties we find an unusually large number, both of ministers and of elders, upon each Classis. In some Hundreds, e.g., Ongar and Harlow, the great majority of ministers were nominated upon it, not merely a select few, and every parish was represented either by the minister or by one or more elders. But in some Hundreds a large number of parishes are quite unrepresented; this is especially the case with parishes along the Thames or on the coast (except Rochford Hundred). In the case of Barstable only one minister and very few elders are found south of a line from Horndon-on-the-Hill to Great Burstead; this is probably due to these parishes not being represented on the Committee which drew up the list. Romford is the obvious centre for Becontree, Havering, north and central Chafford, and north Barstable, lying as it does almost exactly midway on the "Great Road" between Bow Bridge and the Wid beyond Shenfield; but was very far from south Barstable; and no member of this committee came from these parts. But the very small number of parishes represented in the Hundreds of Witham, Thurstable and Winstree is still more striking; it would look as if Colchester people made the list, and did not want too many.

It is clear from what has been said above that the printed list of members of the Classis is evidence not for 1648 but for the end of 1645. In some Hundreds the retention of a name on the list may be taken to imply that the minister was still there in 1648; but in others no correction was ever made. The "Essex Testimony" signed May, 1648, very soon after the list appeared, has sometimes quite different names.

I add here a few corrections to the list as given by Shaw and by Davids. In the former case the total of errata is perhaps complete, except for a few spellings; in the latter I have done little more than supply plain omissions. As the list is accessible in these two works it is unnecessary to print it again as a whole.

Corrections to Shaw :—

p. 374. For "Braintree," read "Becontree" (twice).

p. 375. "Mr. John Petchie" should be in the *Ministers* column for South Ockendon, not among the elders.

- p. 377. "Mr. Goodwyn and Dionisius Wright" belong to Springfield, not to Broomfield.
Omit "Vicar" after "Sutcliffe."
p. 378. Insert "Rotchford Hundred."
p. 380. For "Baker" read "Walker."
p. 386. Strike out brackets round "Mr. John Firmine"—he is down in the printed list.

There are also a few cases where a wrong title is given. Thus on p. 375 Mildmay is termed "Esq.;" on p. 381 "Esq." should be removed altogether after "Doe" and "gent." substituted for it after "Archer" and "Wolvit." On p. 382 Bennet is "gent.;" on p. 385 Middleton is "Esq.," on p. 386, Chapton; on p. 391 Godscall is "gent.," not "Esq."

In one or two cases it is difficult to judge to what parish elders really belong, and one suspects the lines in the original are not always in order; e.g., George Walton was surely not of East Horndon but of Little Burstead, in which church there are a number of verses in his honour, and Col. Farre of Great Burstead rather than Ingrave. But this is the fault of the printed list, which is either ambiguous or incorrect in its intervals.

Chief Omissions by Davids :—

- p. 256. Mildmay belongs to *Romford*, not Hornchurch.
p. 257. Add Mr. John Petchie as Minister of South Ockendon.
p. 259. „ Mr. Richard Babington as Minister of Gingrave.
p. 260. „ Earl of Kent as Elder of West Horndon.
p. 261. „ Mr. John Phipp as Elder of Mucking.
p. 265. „ Mr. Goodwyn, Dionisius Wright as Elders of Springfield.
„ Mr. Mott as Minister, Chelmsford.
p. 278. Read Stapleford Tawney; Elders, Tho. Luther, Esq., James Burton.
Stapleford Abbot; Minister, Mr. Edmond Bental; Elders: Fra. Stonard, Esq., Tho. How, gent., Jo. Springham, Tho. Blomefield.
Add Theydon Mount: Minister, Mr. Robert Rogers; Elders: Capt. Jo. Field, Edw. Gibb, gent.
p. 282. „ Roding Barnish. Elder, Joh. Jocelin.
„ Roding Aythorp. „ Joh. Lord.
p. 285. „ Chesterford Magna. „ M. Barrough.
p. 301. „ Wigborough Magna. Minister, Mr. Daniel Cardinal; Elder: John Batchelor, gent.
Peldon. Minister, Mr. Fra. Ounge. Elder: Jo. Rolfe, gent.
Abberton. Elder: Tho. Westbrowne, gent.
Laver de la Hay. Elder: Tho. Wall, gent.

But though Essex had probably, like Suffolk, sent a scheme

in reply to the Speaker's letter by the spring of 1646, yet nothing was done. The ministers of both counties became impatient, and presented a petition to the House of Lords, May 29, 1646.* They call for "a settling of Church Government according to the Word For the want of this it is . . . that the Name of the most high God is blasphemed, his precious truth corrupted, his Word despised, his ministers discouraged, his ordinances vilified. Hence it is that schism, heresy, ignorance, profaneness and atheism flow in upon us; that seducers multiply, grow daring and insolent; pernicious books poison many souls; piety and learning decay apace; very many congregations lie waste without pastors; the sacrament of Baptism by many neglected and by many reiterated; the Lord's Supper generally dis-used or exceedingly profaned; confusion and ruin threaten us on all our quarters."

They beseech that "a form of government according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches may with all possible speed be perfected and confirmed by your civil sanction; that Schismatics, Hereticks, seducing Teachers and soul-subverting Books be effectually suppressed; that further care may be had of ordination for a supply of able and orthodox Ministers, and all good means used to make up the said breaches in this our Sion. So shall the Church of God be settled, your hands strengthened, the sacred Covenant performed, our fears prevented, the judgments of God diverted."

This was signed by 139 Essex Ministers. Unfortunately no addresses are given; but comparison with the Classis serves to locate the great majority, especially as men from the same district naturally sign together. As here the full name is given, we are helped to identify men on the Classis, where the surname alone occurs; e.g., we find "Mr. Wrenew" on the Classis for West Hanningfield. We might guess him to be the Nathaniel Renew or Ranew who went to Felsted in 1648, and after his ejection in 1662 settled at Billericay, not far from Hanningfield. But this identity is made certain by this Petition, which has the signature "Nath. Ranew" along with the signatures of ministers at Stock, Ingatestone, Runwell and neighbourhood. Of the ministers on the Barstable Classis it is signed by Richard Carnall, Thomas Silverwood, Marmaduke James, Samuel Bridge, Edmund Cliffe, Ben. Wynington, Samuel Smith and Richard Babington, in this exact order except that Hierom Jones (Ramsden Crays) precedes Babington.

* B. M., E 339, II.

But not all nominated on the Classis sign this petition. Thus in Chafford it is not signed by Jackson or Duckfield ; whereas it is signed by William Aiscough (Aveley) and John Elborowe (Wennington). As usual, the London end lies out ; there are no signatures from Becontree or Waltham, though John Morse, apparently of Romford, heads the list.

The Lords thanked the petitioners, and assured them they would do their best to secure what was desired ; but nothing came of it.

A proof that nothing had been done in Suffolk is given by a notice of June 28, 1647.* Samuel Crossman was recommended to the Assembly for Minister at Dalham, Suffolk. He was referred to the Seventh Classical Presbytery of London, to be ordained about a month hence. Crossman became Vicar of All Saints, Sudbury, in 1650 ; possibly also of Little Henny, which was often held with that parish. He left Little Henny for non-conformity in 1662 ; but subsequently conformed, and became finally Dean of Bristol. He is best known as the author of "Jerusalem on high."

It would not appear that the system ever got into proper work in Essex. Josselin records a conversation with Newcomen and others on the election of parochial elders. But the outbreak of war in 1648 was fatal. It split the ministers up greatly, brought a number under suspicion, and must have made the authorities look askance at all meetings of ministers. The one ordination which may fairly be assigned to a Classis is that of Giles Firmin at Shalford. The only other known ordination was probably much later, by the Voluntary Association.

VIII. AUGMENTATIONS.

The Committee for Plundered Ministers began fairly early to make grants for increases of the maintenance of ministers with poor livings out of Improprate Rectories. This was specially recognised by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, May 2, 1646.

After the dissolution of the monasteries there were many Improprate Rectories, sometimes with glebe as well as tithes, in the possession of laymen, as well as others belonging to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and also Colleges and Schools. In these last cases it was usual to lease them at a low rent, but with heavy

* Add. MSS. 15671: f. 88.

finer falling when the lease was renewed. If at this time the Impropiator were one of the hierarchy, obviously the rents reserved were at the disposal of Parliament; so also if he were a "delinquent" or "recusant." If the lessee were such, the whole value might be thus disposed of. The idea was that if property of this kind were sequestered, it should be used for Church purposes. A large proportion of the Plundered Ministers MSS. deal with such augmentations:—MSS. Bodley 322-323, 325-6-7-8-9; P.R.O., S.P.Dom. Interregnum, 1F and 2F.

It is not clear what happened if such a delinquent was allowed to compound. In many instances he was remitted a large part of his fine on settling a permanent annual sum upon some church. (Such settlements were annulled at the Restoration by 13-14 Charles II. cap. 25). Thus Sir Thomas Leveson of Trentham,* ancestor of the Duke of Sutherland, had his fine reduced from £9,846 to £6,000 on settling £380 per annum on various churches in Staffordshire and Shropshire. But the only known Essex cases are John Fanshawe of Parsloes, who was allowed £280 from his fine on settling £40 for 21 years on Dagenham, and Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins, who on settling £20 for ever on West Ham and £60 on Low Leyton, had his fine of £1,300 reduced to £500 (March 17, 1647-8); also Adrian May, who on his own composition (November, 1650) settled the tithes of Little Dunmow upon the minister there.

Various augmentations noted in 1645-7 do not recur later on; they probably lapsed when the delinquents compounded.

Among impropriations from which augmentation was granted are Great Bardfield, Great Bentley, Bulmer, Great Burstead, Buttsbury, Great Canfield, Dagenham, Dedham, Dunmow (Great and Little), Eastwood, High Easter, Feering, Helion Bumpsted, Heybridge, Ilford Hospital, Maldon, Margaretting, Mayland, Mucking, Shalford, Walthamstow, West Ham, Wimbish.

Among those receiving augmentations from the Plundered Ministers Committee down to 1653 are Ardleigh, Aveley, Great Bardfield, Barling, Belchamp St. Paul, Belchamp Walter, Great Bentley, Blackmore, Bradfield, Braintree, Brentwood, Broomfield, Bulmer, Buttsbury, Great Burstead, Great Canfield, Chappel, Childerditch, Dedham, Great Dunmow, Little Dunmow, High Easter, Eastwood, Elsenham, Fingringhoe, Fryerning, Gosfield,

* Shaw: Vol. II, App. V.

Harwich and Dovercourt, Havering, Hatfield Broad Oak, Hatfield Peverel, Castle Hedingham, Horkesley, Ilford, Ingatestone, Kelvedon Hatch, Leigh, Little Leighs, Littlebury, Leyton, Maldon, Manningtree, Margaretting, Matching, Mayland, Navestock, Newport, Norton Mandeville, Chipping Ongar, Ovington, Pattiswick, Pebmarsh, Pleshev, Ridgwell, Romford, Shalford, Takeley, Terling, Thorpe, West Thurrock, Thaxted, Tilbury-by-Clare, Tillingham, Walthamstow, West Ham, Wimbish, Woodham Mortimer. But it is uncertain whether all these ministers actually received any money, or for how long. The augmentations were, it will be seen, often granted to the vicarage of their place of origin, but also often to places with no connection. Sir Harbottle Grimston often signs the orders, as Chairman of the Committee.

But there was often much misconception about the true value of these impropriations. Augmentation was granted from the same source to one minister after another, more than the impropriation could bear; and the tenant seems sometimes to have made this an excuse for paying nothing to anyone. Josselin's diary shows that it was one thing to be granted an augmentation, another to get any benefit from it. Besides this and other cases given below, there was trouble between West Thurrock and Navestock about augmentation from Dagenham; between Bulmer and Much Canfield, about Bulmer; between Barking and Chappel, about augmentation from Westbury in Barking; between Margaretting, Matching and Kelvedon Hatch, over Margaretting. Grant was made from the Improprate Rectory of Great Dunmow, sequestered from Lady Ann Lake, recusant, to Great Dunmow, Ingatestone, Fryerning, Markshall and Earls Colne.

Some instances of this confusion may be given:

(1) On October 26, 1646, £50 from the Improprate Rectory of Feering was granted to the increase of maintenance of the minister of Earls Colne. But it was soon discovered that the rent reserved to the Bishop of London was only £12. As £40 had been granted as augmentation to the neighbouring parish of Markshall as soon as a source could be found, it was ordered (November 19) that the £12 from Feering, £12 rent reserved from the Improprate Rectory of Witham, £15 from that of Wethersfield, and £36 from that of Great Dunmow (£75 in all) should be divided between the two parishes.*

* MS. Bodley, 323: ff. 106, 109.

But little or nothing came of this for years, and meanwhile Samuel Smith of Fryerning was granted augmentation of £36 out of Great Dunmow, December 4, 1647.*

A notice of March 26, 1649,† says that Mr. William Clopton of Markshall and Mr. Ralph Joselin of Earls Colne have hitherto received no fruit of the order of November 19, 1646. The rents for two years and four months amount to £175. This is ordered to be paid. But on August 30 Clopton and Joselin complain that they cannot get the £175, as the Trustees say they have not received it.‡ On October 10 the Committee are informed that part of the arrears are in the hands of the sequestrator and part in those of the tenants. The County Committee are to call both to account.

In December the orders of November 19, 1646 and March 26, 1649, are recited, but it is stated that Clopton and Joselin have hitherto received no fruit, there being not so much money come into the treasury out of the sources as will satisfy the augmentation. Order is made that £100, part of the £175, is to be paid out of the funds of the Trustees for the sale of Bishops Lands §

But on January 16, 1649-50 it is stated that £75 is still in arrear, due March 25 last, notwithstanding the Order of October 10. This order is now discharged, but in lieu the £75 is to be paid out of the funds of the Trustees.||

On January 23, Smith complains that the arrears of his sequestration of £36 are obstructed by the claims of Clopton and Joselin. Both parties are to be heard, February 21. The case was then referred to Sir William Masham, Mr. William Masham, Mr. William Hay, Mr. Gourdon, or any two of them. On April 10, 1650, Sir William Masham reported their award. The £75 is to be divided among the three. The church of Fryerning is reported worth £52, Markshall £50, Earls Colne £24. It is ordered that for the future Smith shall have £15 out of the £75, Joselin £40, Clopton £20; the £18 in arrear for the Christmas half-year from Dunmow to be divided between Joselin and Clopton.

On April 25 the tenants are ordered to pay the half year's rent (Dunmow £18, Witham £7 10s., Wethersfield £7 10s., Feering £6) to Clopton and Joselin.¶

* MS. Bodley, 325: f. 85.

† MS. 326: f. 110.

‡ ff. 116, 117.

§ f. 118.

|| MS. 327: f. 76.

¶ MS. 327: ff. 78, 80, 81.

There is no further notice of these augmentations among the Plundered Ministers MSS. But in the few MSS. extant of the Committee for the Reformation of the Universities two of them remain.

Lambeth MS. 978 has under March 18, 1650-1 EARLS COLNE AND MARKSHALL. The Committee for Plundered Ministers assigned £40 to Clopton of Markshall and £50 to Joselin of Earls Colne. The present Committee reduce Earls Colne to £40 and Markshall to £27 10s. So also in the Sion College MS. Fryerning seems dropped altogether; apparently its £15 had been divided between Markshall and some other church.

Joselin's augmentation went on till the Restoration; that of Markshall ceased when Clopton went to Rettendon in 1654. Markshall and Fryerning are not included in the list of augmentations paid in 1657-8 (Lambeth MS., 981), but Earls Colne is there.

We have the recipient's point of view in Ralph Josselin's Diary (Camden Society, Third Series, Royal Historical Society).

On October 8, 1646, he hopes to get augmentation out of Feering Bury. He drew up a petition which was presented to Mr. Grimston "who promiseth all fayre respect." On October 31 he heard from Mr. Sayer that an augmentation was bestowed on him out of the impropriation of Feering, but on November 8 that his £50 per annum was likely to come to nothing. But he noted on November 29 that Mr. Harlackenden and Sir Thomas Honywood had jointly obtained an order to receive the Bishop's rents—out of the impropriation of Feering £10 or £12, Witham £12, Wethersfield £15, Great Dunmow £36; to be divided between Earls Colne and Markshall. On December 23 he saw the order to this effect.

But there is nothing more for nearly two years. His next note on this is on November 30, 1648, that Mr. Harlackenden had done nothing about the augmentation. But on January 4 he had good hope from Sir Thomas Honywood that it would be at last effectual. On March 18, 1649-50, the sub-committee voted him £43 for an augmentation. In January, 1650-1, he notes that during the year he had had a large supply from the Committee for Plundered Ministers. On January 29 he heard from Mr. Clopton that his £40 per annum were ordered by the Committee, and that he (Clopton) had an order to receive £30, "which money is expected very shortly." But still on November 18 he writes that he had

written to London about this augmentation business ; he was now $1\frac{3}{4}$ years in arrear, i.e., £70. On December 9, however, he received £25 " which my good friend Major Haines procured from Mr. Stanbridge." On July 24, 1652, he received of the Major £15 from Mr. Stanbridge in part of arrears of augmentation. On September 28 Major Haines, who had received £25 from Mr. Stanbridge, paid him £14, and on October 4 the remaining £11. " I have received in all £65 in pt. of two years and a half augmentation due to me June 24, 1652 past." On September 21, 1653, he received from Mr. Clopton £14 3s. 9d., having previously had £18 as his part of £55 5s. paid in by Mr. Man, due for three years out of Dunmow, which is £108, the rest lost.

On August 3, 1655, he heard his augmentation was taken away on a mistake, but was in good part re-settled by Major Haines' care. On November 17 he received from Mrs. Haines £10, part of the augmentation that Major Haines procured for him.

(2.) A most complicated business is that of MALDON. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster had the impropriate rectory of St. Mary, Maldon ; this was leased, like other impropriations in Essex, to Edmond Church, who was sequestered as a delinquent. Grants were made out of this to Maldon, Woodham Mortimer and at least for a time, to Harwich.

The original grant to Maldon was £40 to each of the three parishes, January 7, 1645-6. This was repeated May 7, 1646. But on October 26, it having been discovered that there were only two churches in use, and that the minister of one of them (Israel Hewett of All Saints and St. Peter's) took the third £40 for preaching a weekly lecture ; also that the income from the property sequestered was not sufficient to pay these three sums of £40, besides £30 to Harwich and £30 to Woodham Mortimer ; it was therefore ordered that the £40 taken for the Lecture was to rank last, after Harwich and Woodham. But the Maldon people complained that this meant that the money for the Lecture was taken away from them and paid to Harwich ; they asked that as the money came from Maldon it might be settled on the minister of All Saints and St. Peter's, if not for a lecture. It was therefore ordered, March 1, 1647-8, that £20 of the £40 should be restored to Maldon, to make the total up to £100. But now the Harwich and Woodham people complained, especially that they had not been heard before this last order was made ; Harwich had on the strength of their augmentation entered into a personal agreement with a minister.

It was therefore ordered (May 1, 1648) that the order of October 26, 1646, should stand. But on November 28 it was announced that one moiety of the glebe (Couples or Pentley house on the south side of the King's highway from Maldon to Tillingham) was mortgaged. It was therefore ordered that the augmentations should be payable only from the residue not mortgaged,

On March 25, 1649, it was directed that the £80 should be paid only to ministers at Maldon recommended to the Committee by Sir Henry Mildmay, "one of the Burgesses of Parliament for the said town," and by the Bailiffs and "well affected" of the town. On May 28 Mr. Hewett petitioned against this. The case was heard June 12. The claims of Hewett and of Simpson (St. Mary's) to their respective £40, previously received for 2½ years, were not recognised. The inhabitants asked that the £80 should go to a Lecturer, but made proposals about the two ministers. "In regard the said Mr. Hewett is himself very aged, and the said Mr. Simpson not only aged but in respect of other weaknesses and infirmities disabled from the service of the said Cure; yet it is offered in behalf of the said town that they will give unto the said Mr. Simpson in regard of his said weakness and distempers upon him £20 a year over and above the profits of the said benefice; and they will free as well the said Mr. Simpson as the said Mr. Hewett from payment of any taxes and public charges for or in respect of their several benefices, in case the said £80 a year may be settled upon a Lecturer as aforesaid." The Committee accepted this offer. Thomas Lowry was therefore appointed Lecturer, to preach every Lord's Day morning at St. Mary's, and every Lord's Day afternoon and every Wednesday at All Saints. Lowry being now at Market Harborough the Bailiffs and Aldermen are to get and pay some godly and orthodox minister in the meanwhile.

Hewett was in November presented by the Commissioners of the Great Seal to Tendring, which he held till his death in 1663. The living of Maldon had not yet been filled up in September, 1650, but the patron proposed to present Thomas Horrocks. Mr. Simpson is described as "a godly man."

On November 23, 1650, it was stated that Lowry had not accepted the Lectureship; it was ordered that Horrocks be appointed and receive the £80.

The final notice, August 8, 1651, is mysterious. The Committee had, June 12, 1649, appointed Thomas Lowry Lecturer and assigned him £40 [sic]. He was now to be paid £20 for one half year. How

did Lowry come after all, and how did the £80 dwindle to £40? Did Horrocks and Lowry divide? Again, Lowry is found at Harborough in 1659. He settled at Coggeshall later.

(3.) Another case is that of ILFORD and Pattiswick. On June 10, 1646, £50 from the tithes of Ilford Hospital, sequestered from Richard Fanshawe, Esq., was granted for increase of maintenance of Patrick Weemes and his successors, ministers of Pattiswick; maintenance but £45 (MS. Bodl. 323. fol. 100). The same day "In regard the ward of Ilford within the parish of Barking . . . is five miles distant from the said parish church, and that there is a Chappell in the hospital of Ilford within the said ward to which the inhabitants of the said ward do usually resort, the said ward containing 400 families; the remainder of the impropriate tithes of Ilford sequestered from Richard Fanshawe, Esq., not exceeding £50 a year and which are not yet disposed of, be paid and allowed to and for the maintenance of such lecturer or lecturers as shall be from time to time appointed to preach in the said Chappell the Lord's Days and days of humiliation and thanksgiving to the said hospital and inhabitants, all parliament taxes imposed upon the whole being first defrayed out of the said remainder, saving and reserving to the said hospital all conveniences, rights and privileges to them belonging." (MS. Bodl. 323, fol. 101; also S.P. Dom. Inter: 1F, 334.)

On November 10 John Wells was appointed Lecturer; in September, 1648, he was succeeded by George Cooke, and he in April, 1651, by Thomas Walton. But the money was not enough for both Weems and Walton; and in September, 1651, the case between them was referred to nine arbitrators, including Sir Henry Mildmay. On October 16 it was ordered with consent of both sides that Mr. Weems should in lieu of all arrears receive £40; £30 forthwith and £10 next year; the residue of the arrears to be paid to Mr. Walton (MS. Bodl.: 328, fol. 158-161; S.P. Dom. Inter. 2F, 374.)

Changes were made in the granting and payment of augmentations in 1649 and 1650. An ordinance for the maintenance of the ministry, passed in June, 1649, vested the appropriate tithes, etc., of Bishops and Deans and Chapters, together with Firstfruits and Tenths, in thirteen Trustees, to pay the same for salaries and augmentations of preaching ministers and schoolmasters, settled or confirmed in livings or places by Parliament. This was to

come into force the following January. But it was not laid down who should authorise the grants ; apparently it was intended that the Committee for Plundered Ministers should make recommendations to Parliament. But the next ordinance, April 5, 1650, authorised the Committee for Regulating the Universities to advise new grants ; from June 24 onwards they had also the power of revising old ones, renewing only what they thought fit. They seem to have acted freely upon this. This Committee came to an end in April, 1652 ; in February, 1652-3 its powers for authorising and renewing grants were bestowed upon the Committee for Plundered Ministers, which itself ceased when Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament two months later. In September, 1654, these powers were given to the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers (under supervision by the Council of State). For details, see Shaw, Vol II., pp. 214-220.

The MSS. dealing with the action of the C.R.U. in this matter are three ; one at Sion College, orders of the C.R.U. since June 24, 1650 ; and two at Lambeth, 979, Augmentations before June 24, 1650, and 978, Augmentations continued since June 24, 1650. In each of these MSS. the arrangement is under Counties. The chief difference between the Sion MS. and Lambeth MS. 978 is that the one consists of notices of grants made by the C.R.U., the other of orders for payment made by the Trustees in pursuance of these grants. They coincide more or less, not completely ; 979 is numbered 1 ; Sion MS., 2 ; 978, 3.

Twenty-one livings are mentioned as augmented : Aveley, Belchamp St. Paul's, Belchamp Walter, Brentwood, Brightlingsea, Childerditch, Earls Colne, High Easter, Halstead, East Ham, Markshall, Mayland, Pleshey, Shalford, Southminster, Stifford, Takeley, Terling, Thaxted, Wanstead, Woodham Mortimer. Twelve of these are expressly stated to be continuations (sometimes with reduction) of grants by the C.P.M. ; in nine cases they appear as new, though from other sources we know the C.P.M. had dealt with four : Brentwood, Shalford, Thaxted, Woodham Mortimer. The remaining five seem quite new : Brightlingsea, Halstead, East Ham, Stifford, Wanstead.

But the C.P.M. was still dealing with augmentations, though now perhaps only from estates of delinquents who had not compounded, other than the hierarchy. Thus from August, 1650, to April, 1653, it dealt with Belchamp Walter, Great Bardfield, Brad-

field, Brentwood, Much Canfield, Feering, Ilford, Kelvedon Hatch, Maldon, Margaretting, Romford, Thaxted.

The following is a summary of the Sion College MS. :—

Parish.	Minister.	Est. Value.	Augmen- tation.	Notes.
Aveley	William Ayscough	53	20	C.P.M. £10.
Belchamp St. Paul	Robert Fisher	40	48.16.8	
Belchamp Walter	John Firmin	40 marks	20.5.0	C.P.M. 48.16.8, but reduced on sale of lands.
Brentwood	William Powell	£10	£50	
Brightlingsea	James Backler	£30	£50	
Childerditch	Daniel Duckfield	£40	£30	
Earls Colne	Ralph Joslin	£24	£40	Reduced from £50. C.P.M.
High Easter	Martin Holbeach	£34	£37	
Halsted	William Sparrow	£80	£20	
East Ham	John Horne	£50	£50	
Markshall	William Clopton	£50	£27.10	Reduced from £40. C.P.M.
Mayland	William Buckley	£50	£40	
Pleshey	Thomas Keeler	£9	£32	
Shalford	Gyles Firmin	£40	£50	
Southminster	Nehemiah Holmes	£60	£26	Reduced from £46. C.P.M.
Stifford	Daniel Latham	£50	£30	
Takeley	Stephen Rich	£30	£11	
Thaxted	James Parkin	£60	£50	
Terling	John Stalham	£45	£45	
Wanstead	Humphrey Maddison	£72	£28	
Woodham Mortimer	Nathaniel Hewson	£50	£40	

Some augmentations were clearly granted to livings of respectable value. Nearly all the values agree with those given at the Inquisition of September of 1650 (within a pound or so) ; but some few are put down much lower. East Ham, here put down as £50, is there £65 (possibly the Fifths paid to the wife of the late Vicar were deducted) ; Shalford, here £40, there £45 ; Thaxted, here £60, there £70 ; Stifford, here £50, there £60.

Two examples of these orders may be given :—

(1) October 1, 1651. Whereas this Committee is informed that the living of Brentwood in the County of Essex is not worth tenne pounds a year, in regard whereof they are now without a preaching minister, it is ordered by this Committee that the yearly summe of fifty pounds be granted by the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers for the use of such godly and able preacher as shall officiate

there and be approved by this Committee. And the said Trustees are to pay the same accordingly out of the accruing rents and revenues in them vested.

November 12, 1651. (After reciting much of the above), Whereas Mr. William Powell, Minister there, hath approved himself this day to this Committee: it is ordered by this Committee that the said augmentation be paid to the said Mr. Powell, and the said Trustees are to allow and pay the same accordingly.

(2) *February 4, 1651.* Whereas the Committee for Plundered Ministers the 17th of June, 1646, granted the yearly sum of £30 out of the rent reserved to the Dean and Chapter of Paules, London, out of the Improprate Rectory of Heybridge in the County of Essex, for increase of maintenance to Mr. Daniel Duckfield, Minister of the parish church of Childerditch in the said County, whose present maintenance is not worth £40 a year: this Committee having received good testimony of the piety and ability of the said Mr. Duckfield by Sir William Masham, do order that the said yearly sum of £30 be continued and found out of the said Rectory to the said Mr. Duckfield, with the arrears that incurred (*sic*) since the 24th day of June, 1650. And the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers are to pay the same from tyme to tyme accordingly.

It almost looks as if the grant had not been paid for over eighteen months.

Judging by the Essex notices in this MS., the C.R.U. seems to have met every Wednesday or nearly so. The Essex notices extend from October 23, 1650 to February 4, 1651-2; all are on Wednesday, except September 26, 1651.

The earlier entries were signed by the Chairman; first Miles Corbett, then John Brewster (once, Richard Darley). Later ones were signed by a number present, usually four or five. These names include R. Aldworth, Edw. Ashe, Tho. Atkin, John Baker, John Bouchier, R. Bristow, Ab. Burrell, James Chaloner, Tho. Chaloner, Jo. Corbet, Jo. Dixwell, H. Edwards, Aug. Garland, N. Hallowes, Lu. Hodges, Tho. Lister, Gilbert Millington, John Moyle, M. Oldsworth, Jo. Palmer, Isaac Pennington, Jo. Rous, Aug. Skinner, Philip Skippon, Anth. Stapley, Philip Temple, John Trenchard, Law. Whitaker.

Notices of grants made by the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers are very numerous among the Lambeth Augmentation Books. There are also some notices among the State Papers (Proceedings of the Council of State).

The three most complete lists are :

(1.) The Report on Augmentations presented to the Protector by the Trustees, November, 1655, with a few later additions. It divides into three parts :—

- (a) Augmentations continued (some reduced). The Essex cases are Paul's Belchamp, £40, Brightlingsea £40, Shalford £30, Woodham Mortimer £23..11..10.
- (b) Renewal after expiration, sometimes from change of minister ; Brentwood £20, Hatfield Broad Oak £50, Castle Hedingham £8..8..4, Kelvedon £20, Little Lees £20, Maldon £20, Southminster £20, Takeley £11.
- (c) New Augmentations. Boxted £10, Dovercourt £15, Dedham (Lecturer) £30, Quendon £10, Manningtree £30, Maplested £10. The Council add a note : Terling £50, Coggeshall £50, Braintree £50, Maldon £50.*

Clearly a large number of augmentations under the C.R.U. have now disappeared, in some cases by the death or removal of the grantee : Aveley, Childerditch, Markshall, Stifford, Wanstead. Others were soon restored : Earls Colne, High Easter, East Ham, Halsted.

(2) Lambeth MS. 981, contains notes of payment of grants in a number of counties, with dates. The latest date for Essex seems June, 1658 ; but Edmund Brewer, of Castle Hedingham, who died in August, 1658, is marked " dead." Thirty-six parishes are named, including Haverhill in Suffolk ; in twenty-three cases the name of the minister is given, as well as the amount ; in the rest it would seem that there had been a change, or a new grant, and the minister was not yet recognised by the Triers. This list is all included, with a few variations and a number of additions, in the following. A number of new grants were made at the end of 1659, by the restored Plundered Ministers Committee, including Chigwell, Great Canfield, Great Dunmow, Ingatestone and Romford.

(3) The longest list is Lambeth MS. 994, dating apparently from the end of 1659. It seems to include all livings which had ever received augmentation from the Trustees, including some where augmentation had not been paid for years. It is divided into columns, which are not all always filled up :

(a) The Place.

(b) Date of Trustees' Grant.

* S.P.D. Inter. 123, 46.

- (c) Date of Council's Approbation.
- (d) Yearly sum appointed.
- (e) The Minister or Person.
- (f) Yearly sum in pay.

This last is filled in except where the augmentation had lapsed long before. The list shows that some 53 Essex livings (besides Haverhill and "Branfield," probably also in Suffolk) had at some time received augmentation; about 45 were so receiving at the end of 1659, or at least were qualified to receive, if their ministers were approved.

I give only the first, fifth and sixth columns. It will be seen that the parishes with no sum against their names had dropped out between the date of the Sion College M.S., and that of the Report on Augmentations.

Aveley	Ayscough	
Ardley		£5.12
Belchamp Water	John Firmin	
Boxtead	Nathaniel Carr	£10
Braintree	William Willis	£50
	(since, John Argor)	
Branfield		£30
Brentwood	Wm. Powell	£50
Bricklinsea	James Backler	£40
Broomfield	Wm. Alchorne	£30
Boreham		£20
Castle Heveningham		£30
Childerditch	Nath. (<i>sic</i>) Duckfield	
Coggeshall	John Sames	£50
Chigwell	John Hamson	£30
Much Canfield	Francis Bridge	£50
Dedham (Lecturer)	Matthew Newcomen	£50
Dovercourt		£15
Little Dunmow	William Skingle	£40
Great Dunmow	John Smyth	£20
High Easter	Martin Holbeach	£32.5.6
Eastham	John Horne	£30 plus £20
	John Page, now	
	John Clarke	
Earls Colne	Ralph Joslin	£40
Elsenham	George Wilson	£50
Felstead	Nath. Ranew	£50
Halstead	Will. Sparrow	£50
Hatfield Broad oak	John Warren	£50
Haverhill	George Moxon	£50
Henham	Samuel Ely	£30
Horndon	John Davis	annexed

Kelvedon		£20
Ingatestone	Willis	£40
Little Lees	John Benson	£20 plus £10
Low Leighton		£60
Mayland	Wm. Buckley	
Maintry (Manningtree) Chapel	Bezaleel Carter	£30
Maplestead		£10
Markshall		
Maulden, All Sts.	Thomas Horrocks	£40
Much Waltham	Tho. Cox	£20 plus £5
Chipping Ongar		£30
Pauls Belchamp	Robert Fisher	£40
Pleshey	Thomas Keeler	
Quendon		£10
Rickling		£60
Rumford		£30
Shalford	Giles Firmin	£30 plus £10
Southminster	(Nehemiah Holmes)	£20
	Richard Taylour	
Stifford	Daniel Latham	
Takeley	(Stephen Rich)	
	James Small	£60
Thaxted	James Parkin	£30 (?)
West Thurrock	Thomas Swinnerton	£40
Tirling	John Stalham	£89
Wanstead	Humphry Maddison	
Westham	Thomas Walton	£20
Woodham Mortimer	(Nath. Hewson)	
	Nathanael Hewitson	£20. 11. 10

There is a note that the sum, June 23, 1659, was £1,846 17s. 4d. But I can only add the figures given as £1,687 9s. 4d.

The sums varied from £10 upwards, but a large proportion were from £40 to £60.

From MS. 987 we learn that Edward Vaughan was minister of Romford, and John Lorkin that of Ongar; and from 995 that John Smith was at Rickling. It is not clear *which* Kelvedon received augmentation. George Bound of Kelvedon Hatch did so, 1646-52, but this would probably have lapsed when he left for Shenfield in 1653. From that date the sequence of clergy in both parishes is obscure and confused.

Grants were usually made to parishes contingent on the approval of the minister by the Committee or the Triers. Thus it might be some time before they could be claimed, and they were usually suspended at a vacancy. Originally they were still more personal, in some cases lapsing altogether when a minister died or left. Thus when Daniel Latham, who received "increase of maintenance"

as minister of Stifford, obtained the richer living of Orsett, the augmentation was not renewed to his successor at Stifford but transferred elsewhere.

There are occasional notices among the State Papers or the Augmentation Books of petitions for augmentation, and reasons given for it. Thus in June, 1654, Lawrence Wright, M.D., patron of Henham, petitions for that parish, the vicarage being worth only £50. It had long been destitute of a preaching minister, and was in danger of losing the present one for want of maintenance.

In August, 1657, the inhabitants of Broomfield petition for augmentation to William Alchorne, whom they have obtained as pastor, having been for some time without a minister, and the small tithes being worth only £45. In January, 1657-8, a grant is made to Felsted, "a town of many families but small profits"; in November, 1658, a grant is made to John Argor of Braintree: "very populous, containing in it a great market town, and the vicarage worth only £45."

Latterly the augmentations were commonly drawn from a number of sources, perhaps to lessen risk of failure to pay. Thus the augmentation of John Clarke of East Ham (£30) was thus derived; Rectory of Great Barling, £9 14s.; High Easter, £3 8s. 4d.; Halsted, £1; Rickling, £1 2s. 1d.; Buttolph, Aldersgate, £14 3s. 2d.; Magnus, New Fish Street, 12s. 5d.; (Lambeth MS. 971, p. 359, July 15, 1656). See also MS. 995, 571, where the sources of this and eight other augmentations are given.

It is perhaps noticeable that all the Assistants to the Commissioners for Removing Scandalous and Insufficient Ministers received augmentation, except Glover of Finchingfield and Peck of Prittlewell (Willis of Ingatestone did not receive augmentation till later). But as some were certainly in poor livings, this need not mean that "kissing went by favour."

IX. RALPH JOSSELIN.

The Diary of Ralph Josselin* (Vicar of Earls Colne, 1640-1683) is full of valuable material for the ecclesiastical history of Essex during its period. In what follows I am passing over much interesting personal matter, and confining myself to points of ecclesiastical (or sometimes political) interest. (I have usually modernised the spelling.)

* Royal Historical Society, 1908.

The Diary proper does not begin till August 1644 ; it is preceded by an autobiographical sketch. He came of a good yeoman family of Writtle. He was brought up first at Bishops Stortford, and then at Steeple Bumpstead, where he came under the influence of Mr. Borradaile. At Cambridge the superstitions of the Church were a perplexity to him. On taking his degree, just after his father's death, he got a post as usher in a school at Dean, Bedfordshire. After two and a half years he moved to Olney ; was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Peterborough, December 1639, and at the latter end of February was ordained "minister" at Peterborough by the Bishop and six ministers. "I would not bowe towards the Altar as others did, and some followed my example." (Notice how the association of presbyters with the Bishop in ordaining was valued by the Presbyterians.) He soon after accepted an offer of the curacy of Cranham, living with his uncle, Ralph Josselin. His income there was £44, the minister allowing £24, his uncle his diet of £10, and the parish £10 more. He married Jane Constable at Olney, October 28, 1640. After a few months at Cranham, where his health was not good, he was offered the living of Earls Colne. It was stated that it was worth £80 at least—£40 tithes, £25 contribution from the Harlackendens of the Priory, and £15 from the town. But the last was very irregularly paid, and the tithes were over-estimated—£30 would be nearer the mark, often less. He talked several times of leaving, but never did, though he had a number of offers, especially of sequestrations. He settled there March 1640-1. That Michaelmas, upon an order of the House of Commons, they took down all images and pictures and such like glasses. In July 1643 he note that on occasion of a plot* to betray the city there was another new Covenant propounded and began to be pressed. "I tooke it, but the State lett it fall."

His opinion of Laud was very unfavourable :

"January 10, 1644-5. The Arch. Bp. yt grand enemy of the power of godlynes, that great stikler for all outward pompe in the service of God, left his head at Tower hill, London, by ordinance of parliament."

"March 23. This weeke I saw ye Directory, and an Ordinance of Parliament to take away ye heavy burthen of ye booke of Common prayer."

On June 10-12, 1645, after the fall of Leicester, he went out with Col. Harlackenden's regiment, who marched to Walden. He sang Psalms, prayed and spoke to the soldiers on the common

* Waller's.

at Walden, and also at Halsted. On the 18th he was ordered by the Committee as constant chaplain to attend on Col. Harlackenden's Regiment and to receive 10s. per diem as salary. On August 10 Col. Harlackenden paid him 50s. for his above services. Later on he preached to the regiment at Great Chesterford and Royston. In September he went a longer journey with Major Haynes, as far as Stamford and Leicester; in January he received six weeks' pay.

" June 29, 1646. This day I held against Oates the Anabaptist morning and afternoon; argument that they had no ministry and that particular Christians out of office had no power to send ministers out to preach; he confessed it, and held only to do what he did as a disciple. I showed how it was contrary to Scripture. Our discourse was without passion. The man boldly continued in Town till Wednesday, exercising all three days."

A notice of Samuel Oates is given by one of Walker's correspondents,* as an instance of Presbyterian intolerance at Chelmsford; see p. 179.)

On August 5 Josselin preached the Assize Sermon, Colonel Harlackenden being High Sheriff.

On September 26 he notes that Mr. Lorkyn was with him for a certificate of his qualifications for a minister, " to whom I gave my hand; I never gave my hand to any other but only Mr. Carre as yet to my best remembrance, and herein desire of God caution and wariness."

[John Lorkin was in Lexden Hundred, probably at Markshall, at the time of the petition of May 1646; in September he went to Stoke-by-Clare, where he remained till his appointment to Ongar, probably early in 1659. Gamaliel Carre was first at Markshall, then at Aldham.]

There are a number of references to his hopes of augmentation [given elsewhere].

On December 25, 1647, he notes " People hanker after the sports and pastimes which they were wonted to enjoy, but they are in many families weaned from them."

In 1648 he speaks of the proposed Presbyterian organisation (the scheme for Essex was just published) and also the " Essex Testimony." On March 31 he met Mr. Newcomen† and other ministers at Colchester. " We had much discourse about falling into practice, and in the first place, seeing the elders are to be

* MS. J. Walker: C. 2, 101.

† Dedham.

chosen, by whom shall it be done ? the Parliament proposeth by the people that have taken the Covenant ; others, as Mr. Owen*, conceive this too broad, and would have first a separation to be made in our parishes, and that by the minister and those godly that join with him, and then proceed to choosing."

April 6. "Subscribed a petition for government to the Parliament, as also an encouragement to those London Ministers that appear against errors.† : . Mr. Newcomen sent to us to meet on Wednesday at Mr. Thompson's‡ about proceeding in the matter of Church government."

Josselin had his share in the troubles of 1648. He notes, June 2 : "Our Committee men met at Chelmsford, and were secured by the petitioners ; the morning was very wet, whereby Sir Thomas Honywood and Colonel Cooke who intended to be there were reserved at home to do their country service as they did."

June 3. "Captain Maidstone brought the news to Sir Thomas Honywood. Two Deputy Lieutenants, Mr. Tindall, Mr. Sawyer, burgess for Colchester, refused to join Sir Thomas Honywood in raising forces to oppose in our own defence."

Josselin went daily to Coggeshall to observe the work. The Earls Colne men went in there on Tuesday the 6th—the first of the county that appeared. They sent out parties of horse this way and that, and brought off the magazine from Braintree. They had many alarms, but all false. But the enemy marched to Braintree on the 10th, and were up and down plundering on Sunday the 11th. The Earls Colne men assembled in arms ; "we were not able to draw into Church for the keeping the Sabbath, but were deprived of that opportunity." They set good guards in the town. At eight that night the enemy advanced to Halsted and were believed to be aiming at Colchester. On Monday (June 12) they came to Colne "and were resisted by our town men. No part of Essex gave them so much opposition as we did ; they plundered us, and me in particular, of all that was portable, except brass, pewter and bedding ; I made away to Coggeshall, and avoided their scouts through providence." Next day, returning home, he met with danger from his own side who did not recognise him. One lady desired him to go out of her house for fear she should be plundered ! He went that night, with his wife and all the children, to Lady

* Coggeshall. Afterwards Dean of Christ Church.

† i.e., "Essex Testimony."

‡ Copford.

Honywood's at Markshall, when they stayed nearly ten weeks. "I, my wife, and children, could not shift us, till my Lady furnished us with the same." He went several times to the leaguer; but through God's providence met with no danger. It was some weeks before he dared preach at Earls Colne. On June 10 he and Mr. Clopton of Markshall exchanged pulpits; "I preached in my little coat as I go every day." But on the 25th he preached at Earls Colne, and so all through July and August. He notes on July 2 that the carts went continually to the leaguer, and so did persons, that there was no distinction made of the Sabbath, "so that war truly is ready to make people more vile, a rare thing to see men made better." He has several notes about the surrender.

Several subsequent notes also relate to this. He notes at the end of 1650 that he had received somewhat from the County Committee towards his losses by Goring [the Royalist commander]. On July 7, 1649, he hears that "Major Heynes, my good friend," had procured him £15 for his pay as chaplain to the regiment for Colchester service. [So MS. Harl. 6244.] The most curious note is September 7 that year. "Mrs. Crane gave mee a payre of gloves which she ought me about a wager when her husband was prisoner with the Cavaliers." Had Josselin betted her a pair of gloves that her husband would come out all right? Some years after (August 27, 1655) he notes, "I was with Mr. Crane; they kept their day of thanks for their delivery from Colchester, three of the nine dead, and six alive: Mr. Crane, Smith, Ayloff, Eden, Barnardiston." (The sixth must have been Sir William Rowe.)

He says on February 4, 1648-9: "I was much troubled with the black providence of putting the king to death; my tears were not restrained at the passages about his death."

But he had a sound reason for declining to sign the "Essex Watchmen's Watchword" (February 19). "I was dealt with to sign a manifest of the Ministers against the present proceedings and the Agreement of the People, and a dissent in the matter of the King; there are some things well done, but for Ministers to intermeddle thus in all difficulties of State I question the warrantableness thereof, and therefore I could not concur; but my advice is that the civil part might be undertaken by some able statesman, and the religious part by some able ministers, and then proceed to a subscription."

He had no difficulty in taking the "Engagement," which he did at Chelmsford, December 19, 1649, the first minister and the

thirteenth man to do so in the county. He regarded it as standing with the Covenant while the government actually stood established, "and my faithfulness is not to create any troubles, but seek the good of the commonwealth." But he greatly deplored the way it was pressed at Cambridge. [October, 1650, "to out many honest men, and to admit divers young and rude blades because engagers."

On July 13, 1650 he rode to Colchester and "dined with the Commissioners who were there about the livings of the ministers," probably arranging the Parochial Inquisition in September.

The great event in 1650-1 was the renewed administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, apparently discontinued for years. (There is a note at Easter 1665 that it had not been celebrated on that day for 22 or 23 years—i.e., not since 1642 or 1643.) The Puritan ideal was a monthly celebration; but there were great disputes about the qualifications of communicants, some demanding a very high standard, while others held it was for all not openly wicked; so that often the easiest course was followed by dropping it altogether.* On January 9 there was a meeting at "Goodman Matthewe's" about it; "divers willing." On the 26th Josselin preached on the subject. On February 9 he appointed two meetings in the week to receive the names of persons intending to receive the sacrament together, "and to receive information concerning their fitness to join in that Ordinance." On February 23 "both sacraments met, a thing which had not been for near nine years"; he gives a long account of the previous conferences and discussions. On February 20 at a day of humiliation at the Priory, about 34 gave themselves to this work. "Wee proposed whether any had anything against another that wee might joyne as one bread; wee gathered for bread and wine, and proceeded February 23 to celebrate the ordinance. Wee all sat round and neare the table; the bread was broken, not cutt, in blessing it; the Lord poured out a spirit of mourning over Christ crucified on me and most of the company, and my soule eyed him more than ever, and God was sweete to me in the worke. No vaine thoughts, but wholly intent on the worke; no difficulty among ourselves, a savor on my spirit, but not that healing to my soule at present I desired. Received an account from many of our society of the sweete and comfortable presence of God with them, the liveliness of the actions in breaking the bread and pouring out the wine; the Lord's name have the glory of all."

* Cf. Shaw, II, 142-151.

On October 5 Josselin preached before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul's. On December 20 he notes, "Saw Manasseh Ben Israel, or the hope of Israel. Lord, my heart questions not the calling home the nation of the Jewes; thou wilt hasten in its season, oh my God!" So December 16, 1655, "Great rumours of the Jews being admitted into England; hopes thereby to convert them; the Lord hasten their conversion, and keep us from turning."

He preached the Assize sermon at Colchester, March 2, 1651-2, at Captain Maidstone's request.

He took up warmly the collection for propagating the Gospel among the Indians of New England—the first systematic foreign missionary work of this country since Anglo-Saxon times. On November 18, 1651 he pledges himself, if he gets £60 out of the arrears of his augmentation money, to make the Lord a sharer in it for his work in New England to the sum of £5. He actually got £65 arrears; and on November 25, 1652, he notes: "Received this day the act for propagation of the Gospel in New England among the heathen; I resolve to give £5 myself and wife and children, and to promote it unto the utmost." "December 20. I made a gathering for the Indians; I gave £5 and my family; gathered in money more, £4 8s. 6d., and there was underwritt more £32." On January 2 he renewed the motion for New England; "some poor came in, most of the richer sort came in; I received in money £4 17s. 10d. and Mr. Cressener subscribed 40s. We have somewhat above £50; blessed be our God in what we shall do in this work." On March 19 he paid Mr. Crowe as a freewill offering from divers inhabitants of Earls Colne, £54 11s. 10d.

It would be interesting to know whether this missionary appeal met with so great a response elsewhere. Little Dunmow, a much smaller parish, raised £2 1s. 2d.

Josselin has other notices of collections, e.g., August 28, 1653, fire at Marlborough (over £3); for the Savoyards (Vaudois) June 17, 1655 (£9 11s. 8d.); the Poles and Bohemians "which were massacred and turned out of all for religion's sake," April 18, 1658, £6 9s. 10d.

He has many political notes. Not 500 voters appeared at the election to Cromwell's first Parliament, July 12, 1654; "the choice is as to the outsides of men indifferent good." It was said that there were quite 100 ministers present.

The only notice of the Act of the Little Parliament requiring that marriages should take place before a Justice of the Peace is

April 10, 1655. "The Justice and I married Peg Nevil to Butcher ; the first I intermeddled with since the late Act."

He had a very poor opinion of the Quakers. His notices of them may be collected here.

"July 3, 1655. I preached at Gaines Colne, the Quakers' nest, but no disturbance."

"July 15. Those called Quakers, whose work is to revile the ministry, made a disturbance at Coggeshall, and were sent to gaol."

"July 28. The Quakers set up a paper on the church door in Earls Colne."

"July 29. This corner begins to feel the Quakers ; some of their heads it's said are among us ; the Lord be our refuge. An infallible spirit once granted them, what lies may they not utter, and what delusions may not poor men be given up unto ?"

"February 10, 1655-6. Great noise of people called Quakers ; divers have fits about us, and thereby come to be able to speak."

"February 16. I heard for certain that one Wade, a Quaker as called, comes to our town."

"April 9, 1656. Heard and true that Turner's daughter was distract in this quaking business ; sad are the fitts at Coxall, like the pow-wowing among the Indians."

His account of the death of Parnel is not sympathetic.

"April 11. Heard this morning that James Parnel, the father of the Quakers in these parts, having undertaken to fast 40 days and nights, was, die 10, in the morning found dead ; he was by Jury found guilty of his own death, and buried in the Castle yard."

"April 14. Mr. R. H.* told me as seeing the letter sent by Fleetwood to release Parnel, but he was dead first ; had he been delivered the triumph his party would have made ! It's said in the country that his party went to Colchester to see his resurrection again."

"August 31. Rob. Abot, sen. in the street told Tho. Harvy 'there cometh your deluder.' Lord, we are a contempt and scorn, look upon it, oh Lord, and heale it. He sat on the horse block as people came to church ; Mr. H. spoke to him ; the Lord help us against these growing evils."

"October 31. In the lane set upon by one called a Quaker, the Lord was with my heart that I was not dismayed ; I had some discourse with him."

"January 28, 1657-8. Old Robert Abbott of our town, being arrested of Mr. H. for his tithes which come to £3, and which he might have received within 20s, went to prison, refusing to appear by an attorney ; poor person, he accounts to take or pay tithe is to deny Christ come in the flesh, and is as outwardly bold and confident in his suffering, as if some great service for Christ ; Lord, lead me not into the power of a delusion."

"August 21, 1659. A quaker wench came boisterously into the church up almost to the desk ; I perceived persons expected some disturbance, but she stayed the end and then went out quietly, blessed be God."

* i.e., Richard Harlackenden.

" June 30, 1661. The quakers, after a stop and silence, seem to be swarming and increased ! "

" July 7. My soul mourneth to see how quakers and profaneness increaseth ; God's holy day is most men's vain day."

Almost his last note on the Quakers is on December 15, 1674

" Quakers increased ; John Garrod, their head in our town, building them a meeting place, appointing to meet once a week. I am not over solicitous of the effect, having seen Abbott's meeting house left, expecting God will appear for his truth, and I hope in particular for me in this place who truly desire to fear his name."

" I do not determine why, but this morning, viz., 26, Garrod's wife died, within 6 weeks of the use of that house ; I only desire to fear and tremble, but do not question the downfall of that sect under the feet of Christ and his servants."

Josselin did not at all like the Major-Generals pressing the Commissioners to put into execution the ordinance for ejecting unfit ministers and schoolmasters. He did " not joy to see ministers put under the lay power." (February 20, 1655-6.)

He has a long notice about the election to Cromwell's second Parliament (August 20, 1656), giving the list of the thirteen members elected by the county. " The choice to view is not very good nor very bad ; a strange mixture of spirits."

His good sense is shown in an entry August 30.

" One J. Biford was clamoured on as a witch, and Mr. C. thought his child ill by it ; I could no way apprehend it ; I took the fellow alone into the field and dealt with him solemnly, and I conceive the poor wretch is innocent as to that evil."

" October 5, 1656. Sacrament of baptism administered this day in public, which was not of a long time before in Colne."

There is an obscure note, January 14, 1656-7.

" Met upon an order from the Commissioners for Approbation of Ministers at London, about Mr. Rogers ; in which business I desired to be faithful to God and my heart, with tenderness to my brother."

There were then several ministers of the name in Essex. But the most likely ones are (1) John Rogers, the " Fifth Monarchy " man, who had lost his living of Purleigh, filled up about a year ago ; (2) his father, Nehemiah Rogers, who had lately been presented to Doddinghurst. It was rare for the Triers to pass a man who had been sequestered ; it must have been a still more " narrow gate " for Rogers than for Fuller. Doddinghurst had been vacant since the end of April. Nehemiah Rogers had been recommended for permission to preach August, 1656 ; this was granted in October, 1656.

On January 8, 1657-8, Josselin received an order to be an Assistant in ejecting of Ministers and Schoolmasters for insufficiency. On December 28 he has a notice of the election to Richard Cromwell's Parliament. The choice of Rich and Turner "was not relished by many honest men. * . . Divers elections were on this day, called Innocents' Day. Will the Parliament be harmless?"

"June 4, 1659. Mr. Harlackenden made a bequest of the great tithes to me and the ministers of Colne."

On the election to the Convention Parliament, April 17, 1660, he notes, "The godly party lost their choice, but God will not lose his right."

"April 25. Parliament began; if we judge of the temper of the Houses by the ministers they choose to preach unto them, it presents hopes, being Calamy, Gauden, Baxter."

"June 6. Rid to lay claime to the King's pardon before the Mayor of Colchester."

"June 28. A day of praise for the King's return. I preached on 2 Chron. 17, 6."

"July 22. Ministers pitifully put out of their livings while others advanced. Our schoolmaster, Dr. Pullein, said to be made Bishop of Londonderry." (July 29: "Archbishop of Tuam.")

"August 26. Dr. Pullein now an Archbishop being to remove from us occasioned great feastings, which are vain tainting things to our minds."

"March 27, 1661. Rid to choose Knights of the shire, wee lost it, and my heart quiet; the Lord liveth and reigneth."

"June 23. Said Bishops and their courts are coming in again."

"June 1, 1662. I had the Act of Uniformity sent me."

"July 13. Reports as if the King would respite the penalties on the Act of Uniformity . . . for a time. God in mercy command it."

"August 16. The apparitor at Town with service books; he asked 8s for them, so our Churchwarden bought none, and I saw him not; it is a sad case that men are likely to be put in by this Act of Uniformity."

"August 17. The last Sabbath of our liberty by the Act. God good to me therein."

"August 31. All hope of suspension of the Act of Uniformity taken away; God good to me in my freedom to preach, three ministers and multitudes of our christian neighbours hearing."

(It is by no means clear how he kept his living. He makes no mention of subscribing. Did he simply keep on till told to stop, and so get overlooked? He is down in the 1663 list of Nonconformists, but so are a few others who were not turned out. Was the living treated as a donative of the Harlackendens?)

"September 7. A quiet Sabbath, great droves of people flock to hear."

"October 10. Cited this day to the Archdeacon's visitation; our professors had rather I should lay down than conform, as J. Day told me; but I had it only from him . . . I appeared not." (Probably had he

appeared without having subscribed, the living would have been declared vacant.)

"October 12. The Book of Common Prayer laid in the desk for me."
 "19. Laid again; and used in part in the morning, but in the afternoon taken away."

"26. Brought again, but pitched and abused."

"November 2. Mr. Crosman, preaching, actually sent to prison and some others in danger thereof, yet through mercy I am quiet."

"9. New Ministers this day at Colne Engaine, Mr. Symonds, and at Coggeshall, Mr. Jessop; both of good report; and now I am left alone of the nonconformists; what God will do with me I know not."

"12. Cited to the court at Colchester for procurations. I paid and returned well, blessed be God; none of the nonconformists being cited appeared but only myself; I reckon that day a good day to me."

"23. I baptized with the Common Prayer publicly Wm. Fossets child, the whole congregation in a manner staying."

"May 30, 1663. This day our churchwardens brought in the book of Common Prayer, which I used."

He was sometimes in trouble with the ecclesiastical court, either for procurations, or for not administering the sacrament, or for not using the surplice. But he gradually came into line. The officials, like the King himself, had learnt a lesson, and did not press matters too hard and fast.

"September 11, 1664. I had some apprehension it might be my last sermon."

"September 14. Was the Bishop of London's primary visitation 1664, where I having committed myself to God appeared, and through mercy met with no rubs, but my path clear as I hope I may serve my Master with freedom."

"October 30. This day I gave the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; twelve present, some with great devotion and brokenness of heart."

"March 26, 1665. Easter Day. Twelve of us received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper publicly, for which I bless God. I believe its 22 or 23 years since received on that day and occasion."

He has in this year full accounts of the mortality from the plague each week, both in London and in Colchester. The Essex places mentioned as infected are Harwich, Kelvedon, Braintree, Bocking, Dedham, Coggeshall.

The last entry of any ecclesiastical interest is May 17, 1680.

"Rid to court; I avoided receiving articles through God's goodness. I cast my care on Him, He cared; the matter is the surplice, which I see no sin to use, and shall endeavour to live quietly as may be to the end of my race."

X. EIKON BASILIKE.

Almost immediately after the King's execution appeared a book entitled "Eikon Basilike: The Protraiture of His Most

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE
POVTRAICTVRE
OF
HIS SACRED
MAIESTIE
IN
HIS SOLITUDES
AND
SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mali pati, Regium est.



M. DC. XLVIII.

[TITLE PAGE OF "EIKON BASILIKE," 1648.]

Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings." It made a great sensation, and went a long way to build up the conception of Charles I. as a saintly martyr. (Milton wrote a reply to it—"Iconoclastes.") But it is now commonly, though not universally, held to be the composition of Dr. John Gauden, rector of Bocking. There was a great controversy on the authorship about 1690, arising from the discovery at the sale of the Earl of Anglesey's library of a memorandum by him in his copy of the book, that when in 1675 he showed to King Charles the Second and the Duke of York in the House of Lords the written copy of the book with corrections and additions by King Charles the First's own hand, they both assured him that the book was not the King's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Exeter.

A prominent part in this controversy was taken by Dr. Richard Hollingworth, formerly Vicar of West Ham, but now of St. Botolph, Aldgate (afterwards of Chigwell). On the other side Dr. Anthony Walker, Rector of Fyfield from 1650, who had been Gauden's curate, gave his reasons for conviction of Gauden's authorship. Another Essex clergyman, Edward Symonds, the sequestered Rector of Rayne, comes into the story. (In what follows I am passing over the bulk of the evidence for the King's authorship, limiting myself to points connected with Essex.)

Walker told his story to Dr. Goodall, whose papers formed a substantial part of John Walker's collection for his "Sufferings of the Clergy." This story being criticised by Hollingworth and others, Walker brought out in 1692 "A True Account of the Book called *Εἰκὼν βασιλική*. It was published by Nathaniel Ranew at the King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard, (probably a son of the ejected vicar of Felsted). At the close is an advertisement "The reverend author, Dr. Anthony Walker, coming to London to publish this treatise, it pleased God before it was produced at the press to take him to Himself."

Walker's reasons for his conviction of the authorship are these :

"First : Dr. Gauden some time before the whole was finished, was pleased to acquaint me with his design, and showed me the heads of various chapters and some of the discourses written of them ; and after some time spent in perusal, he vouchsafed to ask my opinion concerning it ; and after some consideration, according to the freedom he gave me to speak my thoughts, I told him I supposed it would be much for the King's reputation, honour, and safety. But I expressly said I stuck at the lawfulness of it, and modestly asked him how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the world ? To which he so readily replied, that I concluded he had thought on it before, 'Look

on the title, tis the *Portraiture*, etc., and no man draws his own picture,' which satisfied himself, and though we might argue it a little, did at present silence me, my heart being so inclinable to what was the scope of the whole. And I perfectly remember that in the second chapter, which is of the death of the Earl of Strafford, there being these words, which now in the printed book of the first edition are page 8, l. 18-19-20, '*He only hath been least vext by them, who counselled me not to consent against the vote of my own conscience,*' he told me whom he meant by that passage, viz., the then Bishop of London, Dr. Juxton [*sic*]; which though most readers understand now, after it hath been long spoken of, yet many then did not; of which number I was, my age rendering me less acquainted with the characters of great men.

"*Secondly* : Some good time after what had passed . . . we being both in London and having dined together, Dr. Gauden in the afternoon desired me to walk with him to a friend; when we had gone part of the way, he told me he was going to the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Duppa (whom he had acquainted with his design) to fetch what he had left with his lordship to be perused, or to show him what he had further written. And as we drew near his house he desired me that after a little general conversation I would withdraw and leave them two alone, which accordingly I did; and when they had been some considerable time together, he came forth and we returned. As soon as we were in the street, he gave me this account of the conference, 'My lord of Salisbury told me there were two subjects more he wished I had thought of, viz., the Ordinance against the Common Prayer book, and the denying His Majesty the attendance of his chaplains (which are now the 16th and 24th chapters in the printed book), and desired me to write two chapters upon them, which I promised I would. But before we parted he recalled that request, and said 'I pray you, go on to finish what remains, and leave these two to me; I will prepare two chapters upon them,' ' which accordingly he did, as Dr. Gauden owned to me and to others whom he had made privy to the whole, and never pretended to have written these as he did to have done all the rest.

"*Thirdly* : Dr. Gauden some time after the King was murdered, on my asking him whether he (the King) had ever seen the book, gave me this answer, 'I know it certainly no more than you; but I used my best endeavours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the Marquess of Hertford when he went to the Treaty [of Newport] in the Isle of Wight, and entreated his Lordship if he could obtain any private opportunity, he would deliver it to His Majesty, and humbly desire to know His Majesty's pleasure concerning it.' But the violence which threatened the King hastening so fast, he ventured to print it and never knew what was the issue of sending it. For when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make further noise about it by enquiry.

"*Fourthly* : I once asking him (for we seldom were in private but somewhat was discoursed of the book) . . . whether King Charles the Second knew that he wrote it, he gave me this answer: 'I cannot positively and actually say he doth, because he was never pleased to take any express notice of it to me. But I take it for granted he doth, for I am sure the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and owned it was a seasonable and acceptable service; and he knowing it, I question not but the King also doth.

" *Fifthly* : Mrs. Gauden, his wife, Mr. Gifford (who transcribed a copy of it, if I be not much mistaken, and which copy was I think that sent to the Isle of Wight, though as to this I am not so positive) and myself believed it as much as we could believe anything ; and when we spoke of it in his presence or in his absence, did so without the least doubt of his having written it, being as much assured of it as 'twas possible we could be of any matter of fact ; and 'tis unaccountably strange that all we who had the best reason and fairest opportunities to know the truth, should be so deceived and imposed upon, as we were in the highest degree imaginable if Dr. Gauden wrote it not.

" *Sixthly* : Dr. Gauden delivered to me with his own hand what was last sent up (after part was printed or at least in Mr. Royston's hands to be printed) ; and after he had showed it me and sealed it up, gave me strict caution with what wariness to carry and deliver it ; and according to his direction I delivered it Saturday December 23, '48, in the evening to one Peacock (brother to Dr. Gauden's steward or bailiff sometime before deceased) who was instructed by what hands he should transmit to Mr. Royston ; and in the same method a few days after the impression was finished I received six books by the hand of Peacock as an acknowledgement of that little I had contributed to that service, one of which I have still by me."

Walker next adds several " probable arguments," which are of special interest as making clear some points in Gauden's life and conduct.

" 1. Dr. Gauden in the beginning of the Long Parliament . . . preached before them on Zech. VIII, 19, last words ' Love the truth and peace,' which sermon was printed, and the House of Commons presented him with a large silver tankard with the inscription ' Donum Honorarium Populi Anglicani in Parlamento Congregati, Johanni Gauden,' etc., which constantly went about his house. And he had been inclinable to the Parliamentary interest, till he found they went beyond their first pretensions and the expectation of himself and other good men. But when he discovered that, he endeavoured to redeem his error . . . by bending to the contrary extreme. And I am persuaded it was this which put him upon the designing and finishing of the book."

2. (Is concerned with ch. 14, on the Covenant.) Walker relates a conversation with his old tutor, Dr. Barwick, who held the book must have been written by the King, for no enemy would represent him so much to his advantage, while no friend would write as he doth of the Covenant.

" Now how easily could I have replied, though at present I acquiesced, that Dr. Gauden, though now a most hearty friend to the King, had himself taken the Covenant ; which we may naturally conclude had induced him to write more favourably of it than any of the King's party or friends, or the King himself, would have done."

3. (Upon chs. 10 and 24 being written by Bishop Duppa). " The ordinance against the Common Prayer and the denying his Majesty the attendance of his chaplains, were subjects which Dr. Gauden was less concerned to think on ; for 'tis wellknown he had forborne the use of the Common

Prayer (though 'twas continued longer in his church than in any thereabouts) and had never been the King's chaplain ; but Bishop Duppa having been the Prince's tutor and long time chaplain and a bishop, was as mindful of these particulars and as much concerned to be so, and with as good reason as any man living could be. . . ."

4. "I meet with expressions in the devotional part very frequently used by Dr. Gauden in his prayers (for he used conceived prayer in his family and in public) which I never heard from any other man ; and 'tis very easy to observe that most men even in ordinary conversation and more especially in their prayers, though they vary in their method, have peculiar phrases and modes of expressing themselves ; and when we find such occur 'tis probable evidence they proceed from him to whom they were peculiar."

Walker next states and answers Dr. Hollingworth's view of Gauden's share in the book :

"There was one Mr. Simonds, a learned and pious minister, who lived near Dr. Gauden in Essex, and who out of true affection to His Majesty's person and cause, wrote a learned defence of the King ; with which the King was so pleased that he presently resolved that this person should have the perusal and correction of his book, and accordingly sent it by a trusty messenger. The book when looked over by him did so affect him (and no wonder) that he could not forbear sending for his neighbour Gauden, in order to make him happy with himself in the sight and reading of such an inestimable jewel. Dr. Gauden would not be denied the kindness of taking the book home with him for a few days, which upon importunity Mr. Simonds (knowing the Doctor at that time a well-wisher to the King) granted. Dr. Gauden presently falls to transcribing it, and in some days with great labour and application finishes it and returns the original to Mr. Simonds again. Within a while the great storm coming upon the King, which at last, God knows, wholly overset him, Dr. Gauden, out of a true affection to his master the King, hoping thereby to do him service, sends this copy by the hands of this Doctor (Walker) to the press. And so far and no farther was he concerned in it."

Walker points out two weak points here ; the first, not very important, being

"the unlikelihood that the parson of Rayne, who was a very private man, should have sent for Dr. Gauden who lived at the rate of a thousand a year, and made the greatest figure of any clergyman in Essex, or perhaps in England at that time."

The other is more weighty :

"Though Mr. Simonds was once minister of Rayne and Dr. Gauden Dean of Bocking, which are neighbouring towns, yet I question whether the men were ever neighbours, and that Mr. Simonds was not gone from Rayne before Dr. Gauden came to Bocking ; but I need not urge that, for what I aver (and am as sure as I can be of any matter of fact, which is most notorious) proves the impossibility ; for before the book was thought of, or many of the subjects had happened, of which it treats, Mr. Simonds was sequestered for his loyalty, fled into the King's quarters, and one Mr. Atkins,

(a plundered minister, as they then called them), who was fled into the Parliament's quarters, was placed in his sequestered living of Rayne. I came to Dr. Gauden's, August 1644, and I never knew Mr. Simmonds all the while I was there, though I knew him well when the book was printing.' (as he will show later). He has a vague idea that Simmonds may have been with his patron, Lord Capel, who commanded for the King in Shropshire.

"He was far from being Dr. Gauden's neighbour, or any possibility of sending for him."

Note : The date of Gauden's appointment to Bocking is perhaps April, 1642 ; Newcourt says 1643. Symonds was sequestered in February 1642-3. Thus the two can have been neighbours only a few months at most, during which they were quite separated by politics, though having much in common ecclesiastically. Symonds was a friend of Stephen Marshall, and no ecclesiastical charges were brought against him before the Parliamentary Committee ; in fact he had been in trouble for not wearing the surplice.

John Walker holds up his fate as a warning to moderate men ; he has a long account of his troubles, taken partly from *Mercurius Rusticus*, partly from his book the *Loyal Subject's Belief*. It is left quite unexplained by Walker how Gauden came to entrust Symonds with the printing ; he may have been suggested by Bishop Duppa, or by Lord Capel, who according to Mrs. Gauden was in the secret.

Walker relates

"a signal providence towards the book being published, in the preventing of its being seized upon and stopped in the press when the proof-sheets (if not so much also of the copy as these sheets contained) were actually in the hands and possession of and carried away by so great an enemy of the King as any man living was, as Mr. Simmonds described him to me. . . . Upon Monday January the 8th or 15th (for I have written memorials by me which assure me that it could not be so early as the 1st nor so late as the 22nd) Mr. Simmonds came to my chamber at Warwick House, where I was then chaplain ; and as a man affrighted abruptly spake to me, ' We are undone, or in great danger to be so, if you do not help us, which I hope you may, being in this family.' And when I asked him what the matter was, he having a little recovered himself, told me the following story ; and when he had done, we consulted what remedy was to be used. The story was as follows :

' I was,' said he, ' a while since at a gentleman's house, a friend of mine, in Hertfordshire, and whilst I was there, there came a troop of horse of Col. Rich's regiment, to quarter thereabouts ; and the Lieutenant, whose name was Arwaker, quartered in my friend's house. He and I had many fierce disputes about the cause betwixt the King and Parliament, and the Army's usage of His Majesty. By which he was so provoked that at the last he told me he would not suffer it, and said he would revenge it

were it not that he would not violate his quarters. Whereupon I thought the place too hot for me to tarry any longer in, and therefore hasted back to London, to my lodgings in Carter Lane. Not long after, that troop came up to London, and the same Lieutenant quartered at the Bell in the same lane. And yesterday about twelve as I was coming from church to my lodgings, we met each other in Carter Lane; he knew me, but said nothing to me, but turned again when he had passed me, and dogged me to the house I lodged in. As soon as I was in and had shut the door, he discharged his pistol with a brace of bullets to mark the door, and hasted away to the Bell. As soon as the master of the house told me he was gone, I got away; and he presently returned with six troopers and searched the house for me; and breaking open my closet took away all my papers and the printed proof sheets which lay loose on my table; but they, seeing them blotted and not understanding the title, it being Greek, or not having looked into them, threw them down in the dirt, which they of the house observing, gathered up.' We then after consulting what to do concluded that the best if not the only way we could take was to get a note from Col. Rich to his Lieutenant to restore all he had so taken from Mr. Simmonds. It happened even beyond our hopes and expectations that the very same day Col. Rich came to dine at Warwick House, and between prayers and dinner I desired Mr. Charles Rich (after Earl of Warwick) to request a favour for me of the Colonel, who beckoned him to him across the room and desired him to shew me a kindness, and referred him to me to know what it was. The Colonel drew me aside and asked what it was I desired of him. I then asked him if there were not one Lieutenant Arwaker in his regiment? He said there was. I then told how he had upon a pique broken open a minister's closet and taken away all his sermon-notes and other papers; and to disguise the better, jocularly added, 'He hath undone a poor parson in robbing him of all his tools,' and prayed him to write a note to him to require him to restore them.

The Colonel was so kind and just, upon my fetching pen, ink, and paper, to write a note to him to redeliver all; which he did so punctually, that Mr. Simmonds told me he missed not one paper, when his landlord, who carried the note, brought them, for he durst not appear himself; so good and speedy a success we had, even beyond our hopes; and there there was no time to examine the papers, all being despatched the next day after they were seized."

Walker also sees on the other side a second signal providence in the discovery of the Earl of Anglesey's memorandum in so unexpected a manner.

He sums up the whole matter:

"I cannot deny but there was more than an appearance of some pious fraud in the affair, which I should by my silence have contributed to the maintaining of. And though God had many holy righteous gracious ends to serve his providence by in the publication of the book . . . yet I confess I have many cogent reasons to persuade me that God was not well pleased with Dr. Gauden, others, or myself, for what we contributed to it."

There are a few slight variations in the account Walker gave to Dr. Goodall, March 24, 1690.

"The bigger part of the book was delivered up by Dr. Gauden to Mr. Simmonds as Dr. Walker conjectures. One Peacock, Bp. Gauden's steward's brother, received part of these papers from Mr. Walker, particularly the picture, sealed up; these were put up in a trunk between the Lady Warwick's points. . . . Some of the proof sheets having the Greek title on the outside leaf, were scattered in Carter Lane and gathered up by Simmonds' son or some of the family, as soon as the troopers were gone."

Some slight further evidence comes from the printers and from Mrs. Simmonds, who was still living in 1692.

Milburn the printer told Dr. Hollingworth that in 1648 he was apprentice to Mr. Grisman, the printer, at which time Mr. Simmonds by Mr. Royston sent the King's book to be printed, and his master did print it, and that Mr. Simmonds always had the name of sending it to the press and that it came to them as from the King.

Mr. Clifford, who assisted Mr. Milburn in composing and correcting the book, backs his story, with the addition that a great part of the book was seized in Mr. Simmonds' lodgings and he . . . was so far discovered that he was pursued into Great Carter Lane by the rebels, where he took refuge, and the bloody villains fired two pistols at him, which frightened him upstairs, and out of the garret window he made his escape over the houses.

This last story is very confused. Both sides of the controversy hoped they might get some information from Mrs. Simmonds, then living with Mr. Span in Creed Lane near Blackfrairs. On the main point she could give no information; only that

"going into her husband's study she saw upon the table a book in writing which she knew was not her husband's hand, and therefore asked him whose it was; but he turned her off by bidding her mind her own business."

Her account of the soldiers was:

"She lodged with her husband in Carter Lane, and their lodgings being discovered, a soldier shot a pistol to mark the door; but she and her husband were at that time at dinner with a major of the King's at one Mr. Chibar's, a minister about Old Fish Street; and had notice brought thither that soldiers had been at their lodgings; whereupon her husband went away, bidding her go home. And the soldiers coming soon after to Mr. Chibar's house, the major made his escape at a garret window before the door of the house was unlocked."

Her husband never enjoyed himself after the King's murder; he fell sick, and died on March 29 of the smallpox.

While this controversy was still going on, Mrs. Gauden's account

came to light in a packet of papers connected with Eikon Basilike put together for her son John, which had passed to his brother Charles, and was now in the possession of his brother-in-law Arthur North, of Tower Hill. Some of them relate to Dr. Gauden's claims and disappointment at the Restoration. But she includes a full account of the origin of the book, not always agreeing with Walker. Either Gauden did not always tell his wife and his curate the same tale, or the memory of one or the other had failed somewhat. Walker was writing over forty years after the event. Thus she begins by saying that after her husband had written the book, he showed it to Lord Capel, who approved it and was for printing it, but wished the King to have a sight of it. She agrees with Walker that a copy was sent by the Marquess of Hertford, going to the Treaty in the Isle of Wight ; but while according to Walker, Gauden did not know whether the King ever saw it, according to Mrs. Gauden the Marquess told her husband that he gave the book to the King, who liked it very well, but was for putting it out not as his own but another's. But it being urged that Cromwell and others of the Army having got a great reputation with the people for parts and piety, it would do best to be in the King's name, he took time to consider it. The Marquess said he knew not what was become of the papers, and said, "God knows what will become of the King." Her husband, not hearing the King's pleasure about it, and finding danger hastening on him, having kept a copy by him, sent it by one Mr. Symonds, a persecuted minister, to the press, together with a letter. That Mr. Royston was the printer, but did not know but the King wrote it. Part of it was seized in the press together with her husband's letter, and Mr. Symonds was taken. Nevertheless the work was carried on, and finished a few days after His Majesty's death. When it was published the Parliament was enraged ; and her husband conceiving his life and estate to be in danger fled to Sir John Wentworth's near Yarmouth, intending thence to pass the seas ; but Mr. Symonds falling sick and dying soon after, not having been examined, and it not being discovered that her husband was concerned in it, the letter which had been taken having no name to it, he altered his purpose and returned home.

There was an epistle at first intended, and the first title was *Suspiria Regis*, but changed to *Icon Basilice*, and there were two chapters added.

That the Marquess of Hertford, the Lord Capel, Bishop Duppa, and Bishop Morley, were at first the only persons privy to it.

Note : I am inclined to doubt whether the seizure in the press and the taking of Symonds is anything else than the story told by Walker. It is probably the form in which the story reached Bocking. It is strange that if Symonds were really arrested his wife should not have mentioned this in her account. But Gauden may well have feared some of the papers had been kept, or copied, or notes taken.

XI. THE PAROCHIAL INQUISITION.

The Parochial Inquisition of 1650 was a result of the desire to secure "a preaching ministry and better maintenance of the ministry." It was felt that augmentation should be granted upon some system, based on the ascertained value of each living.

As early as March, 1644-5 the Committee for Plundered Ministers* had recommended that grants should be made out of the revenues of Deans and Chapters and out of improper tithes belonging to the Bishops. They asked to be empowered to ask the various County Committees for full information about the value of livings in each county. On June 8, 1649, an Ordinance was passed for the Maintenance of Ministers†. It vested the tithes held by Bishops, Deans and Chapters, together with the Firstfruits and Tenths, in thirteen Trustees who were to pay the same for salaries and augmentations to preaching ministers or schoolmasters. These Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers held an important place throughout the Interregnum, at first in subordination to the Committee for Plundered Ministers, and then to the Committee for the Reformation of the Universities; from 1654 they acted independently, subject only to the Council of State.

The same Ordinance‡ empowered the Commissioners of the Great Seal to issue Commissions into every county for an inquisition into the yearly value of all parsonages and vicarages presentative, and of all other spiritual and ecclesiastical benefices and livings to which cure of souls attached. A draft Commission was accepted February 1649-50.

The results of the Inquisition are preserved in varying degrees of completeness in *three* places§.

1. There are a number of original returns at the Record Office; three volumes, besides some unbound. Those preserved for Essex

* Shaw: II, 601.

† Scobell: II, 40. See Shaw: II, 215.

‡ Shaw: II, 249.

§ Shaw: p. 250, n: p. 606.

cover roughly the Dunmow or Walden Division in the N.W., and the greater part of the Chelmsford Division to the S.E. (Rochford Hundred and part of Chelmsford, Stock-Writtle.) The former part is worn and discoloured and not easy to read.

2. A tabular summary for a number of counties including Essex, is in Lansdowne MS. 459 at the British Museum. This omits some details and compresses others; thus it gives the total value of each living without noting sources, e.g., distinguishing between the value of Glebe and of Tithe. But for most parishes it gives all of value.

3. Office copies from the original returns are at Lambeth Palace Library. They are as a rule bound up with copies of the surveys of the lands of Bishops and Deans and Chapters, made with a view to sale; "in the most absolute confusion," says Dr. Shaw*, who describes the contents of each volume. This mixture is to be regretted, as it might convey the wrong impression that this Parochial Inquisition was, like the Survey of Church Goods under Edward VI., with a view to confiscation. Nothing can be farther from the truth; it was intended to show where augmentation was called for.

The Essex returns are all together in Volume VIII., unmixed with any "Sale" surveys. For most of the county they are very full. But the Colchester Division, the largest of all, is an exception—the record is much too scanty. In fact, the copyist was here so slovenly as sometimes to omit entirely the name of the parish under consideration. In some Divisions (e.g., Romford and Ongar) this is given both in text and margin; later often in margin only; but here sometimes in neither. This must have made the copy useless in these cases without outside knowledge or inspection of the original. But with such outside knowledge it is very useful as far as it goes. In other Divisions the Lansdowne MS., taken independently from the original, occasionally gives a correction or addition†; for the Colchester Division its value rises. But the original was clearly very scanty here, e.g., no characters of the ministers except where scandalous; hardly anything of Improprations.

The Inquisition was held in Essex in September, 1650, on the first three Mondays and Thursdays. In some cases at least more

* p. 604.

† See e.g. Belchamp Roothing, Kelvedon, Gt. Hallingbury, Boreham.

than one day was taken. It was held at six centres for the six county divisions (see p. 3). The order was :—

- Monday, Sept. 2 the *Crown*, Romford.
- Thursday, Sept. 5 the *Black Boy*, Chelmsford.
- Monday, Sept. 9 the *Crown*, Chipping Ongar.
- Thursday, Sept. 12 the *Saracen's Head*, Dunmow.
- Monday, Sept. 16 the *Cock*, Braintree.
- Thursday, Sept. 19 the *King's Head*, Colchester.*

At each centre there were a number of Commissioners, usually at least six ; and over thirty jurors. The record is in the form of a Presentment by these jurors. They were rather prominent men in their own districts ; a large proportion are described as "gentlemen" (and the title may have been accidentally omitted in some cases), but there are very few cases indeed of "esquire." They heard witnesses from the various parishes, e.g., we hear of *three* from Little Laver. In their Return they occasionally recommend new parishes, e.g., Romford and Havering to be independent of Hornchurch ; Great Ilford ; a new parish at the Forest end of Barking ; Epping Town ; new parish for outlying parts of Finchingfield, Ridgwell and Birdbrook. In some cases they recommend union of parishes, e.g., the two Braxteds, two Maplesteads, two Hennys, two Wendons. It is proposed to divide Little Ilford between Great Ilford and Wanstead ; to join Ulting and Hatfield ; to partition Faulkourn among Witham, Terling, and White Notley.

The Returns are not signed by *all* the jurors whose names are given, e.g., at Romford only twenty-two sign out of thirty ; at Chelmsford, twenty-seven out of forty-four. At Ongar there were thirty-one on the list, and thirty signatures, but several of the names are quite different.

In the following compressed account the quotation is sometimes in full or nearly so, but often summarised where there is no matter of special interest. The spelling of the Lambeth MS. is usually kept, the original being fragmentary and often hard to read,† but I have not troubled about punctuation, or always about use of capitals, neither of which show any principle, e.g., words of one or two letters, such as "a," "it," "is," are spelled often with a capital and often not. But I give the historical order rather than that in the Lambeth MS.

* In the Lambeth MS. the order is Ongar, Romford, Chelmsford, Braintree, Colchester, Dunmow.

† P. R. O. spells usually "vicaridge," "chapple." Lamb : "viccarage" ; "chappell."

“ An Inquisition Taken att the Crowne in Rumford upon
 “ Mondaye the second day of Sept^{ber} Anno Dni 1650, before Sir
 “ William Rowe, Knight, William Conyers, Esqre., Sergeant att
 “ Lawe, Robert Smith, John Sparrowe the Elder, Joachim
 “ Mathewes, Carew Mildmaye, Tristram Conyers, John Sparrowe,
 “ Junr., and John Fenning, Esquires, Commissioners :—

“ upon the Oathes of Robert Comyns of Daggenham, gent.,
 “ Phillipp Capper of Wanstedd, Stephen Porter of Barking, Robert
 “ Meadowes of the same, Edmond Blott of the same, Thomas
 “ Preston of the same, gent., Robert White of Ripple, Thomas
 “ Lake of the same, John Bird of Westham, John Dewyn of the
 “ same, John Wright of Leyton, William Miller of Waltham Stowe,
 “ Richard Coxe of the same, George Peirston of Westham, Thomas
 “ Davenish de Chadwell, gent., John Phipp of Mucking*, gent.,
 “ Thomas Caldicott (?) of Horndon upon the hill, Samuell Comyns
 “ of Duddinghurst, John Attwood of West Tilburye, John Ashen
 “ of Hornedon upon the hill, Roger Taverner of Upminster, gent.,
 “ John Sonds of the same, John Puddefoote of Rayneham, Ralph
 “ Josselyn of Cranham, William Comyns of Hare Street, gent.,
 “ Stephen Lowdham of Rumford, gent., Robert Grafton of the
 “ same, gent., firancis French of Hornchurch, gent., John Lloyd
 “ of Havering, gent., and Alphonsus Frith of Rumford, gent. ;
 “ Conteyning the number and true yearly values of all Parsonages
 “ and Viccarages presentative and other Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall
 “ Benefices lyvings and donatives within the hundreds of Beckon-
 “ tree Barstable and Chafford, to the Intent that provision may
 “ be had and made both for preaching and the Maintenance of
 “ preaching Ministers according to an Acte of this present Parlia-
 “ ment bearing date the Eight daye of June One Thousand six
 “ hundred ffortye and Nyne And A Commission under the great
 “ seale of England in Pursuance thereof to the said Commissioners
 “ and others dyrected.

“ BARSTABLE HUNDRED.

“ RAMSDEN CRAYES.

“ In primis the said Jurors saye and present That within the
 “ Parish of Ramsden Crayes there is one Parsonage presentative
 “ with Cure of Soules annexed to it, whereof Jerom, Jones, Clerke,
 “ is the present Incumbent and possessor. That the Parsonage
 “ house and glebe Land is of the yearly value of ffortye pounds
 “ and the Tythes thereunto belonging of the value of thirtey six

* MS. Whicking.

“ pounds per Ann. or thereabouts. In all Amounting to the sum
 “ of Seaventie-six pounds per Ann. And That the saide Mr. Jones
 “ supplies the Cure within the said Parish and is an Able godly
 “ Minister and Constant preacher there and Receiveth and Enjoyeth
 “ the proffits of the said Parsonage and Tythes for his paynes
 “ therein. And that George Walton Esq. hath the Right of
 “ presentation to the said lyving. And further the said Jurors
 “ saye that the said Parsonage house is much out of Repaire, And
 “ was so left by the Last Incumbent, that one hundred pounds will
 “ not sett It in good Repaire.

“ BURSTED MAGNA.

“ That within the parish of Burstedd Magna there is A Parsonage
 “ Improprate to the Lord Petre and likewise a Viccarage where-
 “ unto the Cure of Soules is annexed And that Samuell Bridge,
 “ Clarke, is the present Viccar there and supplies the Cure and
 “ is an able and faithful Minister, and was elected by the parishioners
 “ and presented by the Lord Petre, the Patron thereof. That
 “ to the said Viccarage there is belonging a dwelling house and
 “ about ffive Acre of Gleabe Land which together with the Tythes
 “ payable to the said Viccarage is of the yearely value of Sixtie
 “ pounds or thereabouts. And that the great Tythes within
 “ the said parish belong to the said Lord Petre who hath for many
 “ years lett to the Incumbent some part of the great Tythes att
 “ the Rent of thirtye pounds per Ann., the Improvement whereof
 “ together with the said Viccarage tythes thereunto belonging
 “ makes the Maintenance of the Minister there worth one hundred
 “ and eight pounds per Ann. or thereabouts. And that within the
 “ said parish there is a Chappell scittuate in the town which is
 “ Employed for a weekly Lecture upon the Markett daye in the
 “ possession of certaine ffeoffees, whereunto some Lands have
 “ formerly belonged as by an antient parish booke may appear,
 “ butt whatt the Lands are or where they lye or who now receyves
 “ the proffitt thereof, the said Jurors cannot discover.

“ LAYNDON AND BASSENDON.

“ That within the said Parish of Layndon and Bassendon there
 “ is onely one Parsonage presentative with Cure of Soules belonging
 “ to it, and Mr. James Moore, Clerke, is now the Minister there
 “ settled by order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers, and
 “ is an* Able Industrious Minister of the Gospell and supplies

* Lansdowne MS.: “an able and laborious preacher.”

“ the Cure within the Church of Layndon constantly and provideth
 “ one Mr. Gale to preach in the Chappell at Basseldon. That
 “ there is belonging to the said Parsonage about thirtie Acres of
 “ Gleabe land (but noe house) worth about fiftene pounds per Ann.
 “ and the Tythes thereunto belonging of the value of Seaventye five
 “ pounds per Ann. or therabouts. That to the said Chappell at
 “ Basseldon there is butt eight pounds per Ann. which Chappell
 “ is supplied by the said Mr. Gale by the appointment of the said
 “ Mr. Moore, and is very convenient to be made a parish church,
 “ being scittuate about two or three Myles from the church att
 “ Layndon or any other Church. That the Right of presentation
 “ to the sd Church belonged to the late Bishop of London, and to
 “ the said Chappell to John Petre, Esq.”

NEVENDON.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Edward Thorpe, an able preaching minister. House and four or five acres of land, £3 10s. od. : tithes, £32. Patron—Wakefield of Leadon.]

WICKFORD.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Richard Pulley, an able godly preaching minister, presented under the Great Seal. House and glebe, £15 ; tithes, £45. Patron, Mr. John Moore.]

NORTH BEMFLEET.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, George Boswell, D.D., a preaching minister and of a good life and conversation. Tithe, £60 ; glebe, 20 acres. £10. Patron, Sir Thomas Wiseman, Knt.] “ And that within the said parish there is an Island* inhabited with Dutchmen who provide a minister of their owne Nation to preach unto them.”

THUNDERSLYE.

[Parsonage presentative. Patron, Robert Smith, Esq.]
 “ There is nowe no settled minister, and the Cure is supplied by
 “ such as the parishioners can provide.” [House and glebe, £12 ;
 tithe, £48.] “ That the Profits of the said Parsonage ever since
 “ Midsummer last is reserved in the hands of the Parishioners for
 “ the use of the next Incumbent there, except soe much onely as
 “ satisfyes such preacher as they can att present provide to preach
 “ unto them.”

* i.e., Canvey.

PITTSEY.

[Parsonage presentative. Patron, Lord Purbeck. Present Incumbent, John Berridge, "an able minister and approved of by "the parishioners." House and glebe (12 acres), £7 ; tithes, £40.]

SOUTH BEMFLETE.

"The Great Tythes and Parsonage are Improprate and now in "the hands of John Nuthall, gent., and did formerly belong to "the Deane of Westminster" (value £20). . . . "Alsoe a "Vicarage unto which the Cure of Soules belongs, which cure is "now supplied by Robert Sparkes, Clerke, an able preacher." [Vicarage tithes, £40.]

BOWERS GIFFORD.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Edmond Clarke, an able godly preaching minister. Patron, Sir Thomas Bendish, Knt. House and 24 acres of glebe, £25, tithes, £70.]

VANGE.

Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, George Mawle, an able godly minister, presented by "Robert Tooker, clerke, then "and yett Patron thereof." House and about 29 acres of arable and pasture and about 25 acres of salt marsh, £20 ; tithe, £40.]

FOBBING.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Francis Scott, an able preacher, "settled there by some Committee of this Parliament". House and glebe, twenty acres, £4 ; tithe, £70.]

CURRINGHAM.

[Parsonage presentative. Present possessor, Jonathan Hoyle, by Order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers. Glebe, 20 acres, £10 ; tithe, £80. Hoyle is a godly minister. Patron, Sir Henry Anderson.]

STANFORD-LE-HOPE.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe, 20 acres worth £13 ; tithe, £75. Patron, Henry ffetherstone, Esq. Present Incumbent, Caleb Wood, an able preaching minister, but is reputed a common frequenter of Alehouses.] "And that within the said parish there "is a Chappell called Nicholas Chappell whereunto there are "certaine Tythes of Right belonging and payable by one Mr. "Blackberrew of the yearely value of Eleaven pounds and Tenn "shillings. and There is about ten Acres of Land belonging

“thereunto of the yearly value of £6, or thereabouts which is
“received and taken by the said Mr. Blackberewe.”

BURSTED PARVA.

(Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, John Pease, an able godly preaching minister, “settled there by presentation under the Great Seal of England.” House and 28 acres of glebe, £14; tithes, £50.)

HORNEDON (ON THE HILL).

“That within the said parish of Hornedon there are three
“Parsonages without Cure of Soules, and one Viccarage presentative
“with Cure of Soules annexed to It. That the said Parsonages
“are Improprate, the one to Mr. Alderman Andrewes, one other
“to Ralph Britton, gent., both by grante from the Crowne. And
“the other is Improprate to Anne Hurt, Wyddowe, by Lease
“from the Late Deane and Chapter of Pauls, which will end
“about the yeare one thousand six hundred ffiftye and seaven;
“upon which Lease there is reserved seaven pounds three shillings
“ffoure pence yearly Rent in Monye and one Boare or two pounds
“thirteen shillings ffoure pence in monye payable to the Late Deane
“and Chapter, and two Seame of Wheate, Three Seame of Oates,
“half a Seame of Rye and half a seame of barley payable yearly
“to the Viccar of the said Parish. The Rent reserved upon the
“said Parsonage Improprate to Alderman Andrewes is thirteen
“shillings and ffour pence payable to the Viccar of the said Parish.
“And the Rent reserved out of the said Parsonage Improprate
“to the said Mr. Bretton is ffoure pounds payable to the late
“King, as is Informed. That the said Parsonage Improprate to
“Alderman Andrewes is of the yearly Value of Thirtye pounds.
“The said Parsonage Improprate to Mr. Bretton twenty and
“two pounds. And the said Parsonage Improprate to Mrs.
“Hurt as aforesaid of the Value of ffortye pounds per Ann. or
“thereabouts. That William Adams, Clerke, is the present
“Vicar of the said Parish and supplyes the Cure there and is
“an Able preaching Minister, and hath for his paynes the Viccarage
“house and about six acres of Gleabe Lands and the small Tythes
“Payable to the said Viccarage, being of the value of ffortye pounds
“per Ann. or thereabouts.”

MUCKING.

[Parsonage Improprate to Mr. Alderman Andrewes, Viccarage presentative. Parsonage, £60, “formerly belonging to the Deane

and Chapter of Paules." Vicarage glebe and tithes £35. Thomas Allen, an able godly preaching Minister, supplies the Cure. Patron formerly Dean and Chapter ; now, Alderman Andrewes.]

EAST TILBURY.

[Vicarage presentative. Present Incumbent, James Hudleston, an able godly minister. House, 40s.; tithe £43.]

WEST TILBURY.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, John Fordham, an able godly preaching minister. House and glebe, £20 ; tithe, £50.]

CHADWELL.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, James Hosier, a preaching minister, there settled by presentation under the Great Seal. Thirty acres of glebe, £20 ; tithes, £80.]

BULPHAN.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Tobye Hewett, a godly orthodox preaching minister. Patrons, Edward Burye, Esq., and Bradford Bury, gent. Glebe and tithes, £80.]

LITTLE THURROCK.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Nicholas Guy ; " by grant from Lancelott Lake, Esq., the Patron." House, barn, stables, with four acres of upland and two acres of marshland, £5 ; tithe, £90. Mr. Guy is " noe preaching minister."]

ORSETT.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Matthias Styles, D.D., by grant of the late King, then Patron. Parsonage, glebe (four or five acres) and tithe, £200. Dr. Styles is an able godly preaching minister.]

DUDDINGHURST.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Nehemiah Dodd, an honest godly preaching minister, by grant from James Buttler, Esq., then Patron for the term of his life ; Edward Herris, Esq., now Patron. House and twelve acres of glebe, £10 ; tithe, £65.]

HUTTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Walter Taylor, an able and godly minister, by presentation from the late Deane and Chapter of Paules. House, garden, orchard, and 14 acres of barren glebe, £9 ; tithes, £60.]

SHENFIELD.

[Parsonage presentative. Present possessor, Nathaniel Ward, an able preaching Minister, by sequestration. House and glebe, 60 acres, £40 ; tithe, £80. Patron, Sir John Lucas, Bt.]

GINGRAVE.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Richard Babington, a godly able preaching Minister, by order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers. House and 40 acres of glebe, £30 ; tithe, £52. Patron, Lord Petre.]

WEST HORNEDON.

[Parsonage. Present Incumbent, Richard Carnell, a godly able Minister, by grant of Lord Saye, then Master of the Court of Wards, during the minority of Lord Petre, the Patron. House and glebe, £25 ; tithe, £33.]

EAST HORNEDON.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Edward Cliffe, a preaching Minister. House and glebe, £20 ; tithe, £40. Patron, Sir John Tyrell.]

DUNTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Present possessor, William How, an able godly preaching minister, settled there by the Committee of Plundered Ministers. House and glebe, £15 ; Tithe, £85. Mr. How pays thereout £20 to Mr. Norton from whom the living was sequestered. Patron, King's College, Cambridge.]

DOWNEHAM.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Thomas Redrish, an able godly preaching Minister. House and glebe, £22 ; tithe, £70. Patron, Anne Anslowe, widow.]

RAMSDON BELHOWES.

“ That within the said Parish of Ramsdon Belhowes there is
 “ one Parsonage* presentative with Cure of Soules annexed to It.
 “ And that Thomas Clopton, Clerke, is the present Incumbent and
 “ possessor thereof. That the Tythes belonging to the Church
 “ within the Parish are worth about Seaventie pounds per Ann.
 “ and the Gleabe land of the value of Tenn pounds per Ann. And
 “ That in the said Parish there are About three thousand [*sic*]
 “ Acres of Land worth about two hundred and seaventye pounds
 “ per Ann. which did Antiently belong to the said parish Church,
 “ which Lands the Church hath beene deprived of these many

* MS. “ Parish.”

“ years (as wee are Informed) And that within the said parish
 “ there is A Chappell* whereunto Certaine Tythes amounting to
 “ About thirty pounds per Ann. doe belong, which Tythes are
 “ now possessed and taken by Sr. Thomas Cheeke, and not Employed
 “ towards the Maintenance of any Minister there. That the said
 “ Parish Church and Steeple is very Ruinous and in very great
 “ danger of ffalling so that In windye weather the Inhabitants
 “ dare not come to the Church to partake of the publicke service
 “ of God. And the Parishioners are altogether unable to Repaire
 “ or Uphold the same. That the same Thomas Clopton now
 “ supplyes the Cure within the said parish Church [*sic*] and
 “ Receiveth the proffits of the said Gleabe Lands and Tythes
 “ aforesaid, And is a preaching Minister.”

LAYNDON HILLS.

“ That within the said parish of Layndon Hills There is A
 “ Parsonage presentative with Cure of Soules annexed to It,
 “ whereunto is belonging A Parsonage house and Certaine parcels
 “ of Gleabe Land Conteyning together by Estimacon Eighteene
 “ Acres or thereabouts worth ffifteene pounds per Ann. And the
 “ Tythes thereunto belonging are of the yearely value of Sixtie
 “ seaven pounds out of which there is paid yearely for Tenths
 “ of Easte [*sic*] Lee ffortye shillings per Ann. And for Layndon
 “ Hills, twentie shillings per Ann. Soe that there Remains for the
 “ Maintenance of the Minister there Sixtie Nyne pounds; the
 “ said Parsonage is now sequestered to John Elyott and Gabryel
 “ Haselton, two of the chiefe Inhabitants of the said parish; who
 “ Receive the proffits thereof for Maintenance of a Minister to
 “ supplye the Cure there, having no settled Minister within the said
 “ parish, butt have Reteyned William Pindar, Clerk, for two
 “ years past, the fformer Minister there from whom the said lyving
 “ was sequestred and so standeth. That there hath beene by
 “ Tradicon A Chappell long since demolished within the said parish
 “ Called Eastlee Chappell, butt It is not knowne That there was
 “ ever any devine service performed in the said Chappell or That
 “ any Tythes are or Ever were payable thereunto. And that
 “ Captain Halls now Receives the Tythes of East Lee, butt by what
 “ Right wee knowe nott.”

[There is some inaccuracy in the figures. But the Lansdowne MS. agrees in giving total gross value as £82. “ East Lee ” should be “ West Lee,” once a separate parish.]

* i.e., Ramsden-Barnston.

Notice in this Hundred *sequestrations* are noted or implied at Laindon-cum-Basildon, Fobbing, Corringham, Shenfield, Dunton, (where fifths are paid), Laindon Hills. In a few other cases, e.g., Ingrave, West Horndon, Horndon on the Hill, a sequestered living had since become void by death. Notice also the recommendation that Basildon should be made a separate parish; the mention of Billericay Chapel; the bad repair of Ramsden Belhouse Church and Ramsden Crays Parsonage; also the special rents reserved at Horndon, where two of the "Parsonages" mean lands originally paying tithe to Abbeys.

CHAFFORD HUNDRED.

NORTH OKENDON.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, William Jackson, a learned divine, constantly performing the Cure. Patron, Sir Thomas Littleton. House and glebe, £17 10s., tithe £62 10s.]

SOUTH OKENDON.

[Parsonage presentative. Present possessor, William Wrett, by Order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers; an able, learned divine constantly performing the Cure. House and Glebe, £12; tithe, £108.]

GREAT WARLEY.

[Parsonage presentative; present possessor Edward ffoord, an able learned minister. Patron, Benjamin Wallinger, gent. House and glebe (7 acres), £8; tithe, £100 "whereout the said "Mr. ffoord pays yearely to the Hospitall att Ilford tenn pounds "and to Prittlewell Pryorie Twentye shillings per Ann. or there- "abouts.")

GRAYES THURROCK.

"That within the said Parish of Grayes Thurrock there is a "Parsonage and Vicarage Improprate with Cure of Soules. And "a donative knowne by the name of the King's head worth tenn "pounds per Ann. which hath bin deteyned from the Church for "about twenty yeares by Mr. Thomas Kightley and his ffather "as wee are informed. And there is Allso Another donative to "the Church Called the boarded house or the Anchor and hope, of "the value of seaven pounds per Ann, which one Mr. Brutall of "London deteynes, both which as wee are likewise Informed were "about seaven years since by Vertue of A Commission for "Charitable uses found to be belonging to the Church within the "said parish. That Mr. John Babington, Clerk, Is the present

“ Proprietor of the said Parsonage and Viccarage. That the said
 “ Parsonage is In the possession of John Ludlowe and John Lambert
 “ by Lease from the said Mr. Babington and is worth about ffortye
 “ six pounds per Ann. And that the present Incumbent In the said
 “ Viccarage is Daniell Jones, Clerke, by presentacon from the said
 “ Mr. Babington, and Receives for his paynes the Viccarage Tythes
 “ and A small Cottage belonging to It of the value of twentye
 “ seaven pounds per Ann. or thereabouts. That the said Mr. Jones
 “ supplyes the said Cure, butt is negligent in his Charge and of
 “ a bad life and Conversacon. And the parishioners want A Godly
 “ preaching Minister.”

WEST THURROCK.

[Parsonage Improprate and Viccarage presentative with Cure.]
 “ That one Thomas Jorden is in possession of the said Parsonage
 “ and Sir Henry Hayman and Sir Cranmer Harris are the pro-
 “ prietors thereof, being worth about £120 per An.” [Incumbent
 of Vicarage, Thomas Swynerton, an able godly preaching minister.
 House and two acres of glebe, £3 ; tithes, £60. Patrons, Sir
 Henry Hayman and Sir Cranmer Harris.] “ That the said Parish
 “ is of a Very Large Extent and the parish Church standeth att
 “ one end therof, att least three miles distant from some parte of
 “ the parish, neare the River Thames, In so bleake A place that
 “ It tends much to Impayring the health both of minister and
 “ people, by which the publicke service of God is much neglected.
 “ That the Parishioners desire that some other place may be
 “ appointed About the Middle of the parish for that purpose.”

UPMINSTER.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Marmaduke
 James, an able godly minister constantly performing the Cure.
 House and about twenty acres of glebe, and tithes, £130. Mr.
 James pays thereout £40 “ to one Michael Halke, by virtue of
 “ An Order of the Lords house, to Continue during the life of
 “ one John Halke, the fformer Incumbent there.” Mr. James “ was
 “ there settled by Order from the Committee for Plundered
 “ Ministers ; but who hath the Right of presentacon to the said
 Parsonage the said Jurors cannot truely discover, the same being
 now in Controversie.”]

RAINHAM.

[Parsonage Improprate, £45 ; Viccarage, Present Incumbent,
 Thomas Ridsden, an able preaching minister who constantly

performs the Cure. Four or five acres of glebe, without any house, £4; vicarage tithes, £60. Patron, Ralph Freeman, Esq. "who hath one thousand pounds per An. in the said parish, for which he pays noe Tythe att all."]

STIFFORD.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Daniell Latham, a very able and constant preaching minister. Patron, John Hall, gent. House and glebe, £7; tithes, £53.]

LITTLE WARLEY.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Thimbleby Holden, a preaching minister. House and glebe, £16; tithe, £65. Patron, Sir John Tyrrell.]

WENNINGTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, John Elbrowe, an able minister, diligently preaching there; presented by the late Bishop of London, then Patron. Tithe, £100; four acres of glebe, 40 shillings.]

CRANHAM.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Robert Wattson, an able godly preaching Minister, by order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers. House and glebe, £16; tithes, £60. Patron, Nathan Wright, Esq.]

CHILDERDITCH.

[Parsonage Improprate and Vicarage presentative. Present Incumbent, Daniell Duckfeild, an ancient and godly preaching Minister. Yearly pension of £4, payable from the Abbot of St. Mary in Coggeshall out of the Manor of Childerditch Hall and Tillingham Hall in the said parish; small tithes of residue of the farms, £20; house and 14 acres of glebe, £14; total, £38. Patron, Sir Thomas Cheeke, who is proprietor of the great tithes, £30.]

AVETHLY.

[Vicarage presentative; Parsonage which is "Laye ffee." Present Incumbent of Vicarage, William Aiscough, a preaching minister, presented by the late Bishop of London. Thomas Wythering, Esq., is proprietor of the Parsonage by lease from the Dean and Chapter of Paules; reserved rent, £10 payable to Dean and Chapter, but now by Order of Parliament to the Minister of the parish. Parsonage house and glebe, £14; great tithes, £56. Vicarage, small tithes, £54; no house or glebe.]

SOUTH WEALD.

[Parsonage Improprate to John Browne, Esq. ; Vicarage presentative, present Incumbent John* Goodwyn, by Order from Committee of Plundered Ministers. House and 12 acres of glebe, £12 ; tithes, £130.] “ And the said Jurors ffurther present that
 “ within the said parish there is a Chappell which is scittuate In
 “ the Markett towne of Brentwood being A great thorough-fare
 “ having about Eight score ffamelyes In the towne, and Lyes a
 “ Myle and upwards from the Parish Church ; to which Chappell
 “ there is A house and an Acre of ground belonging, worth ffive
 “ pounds per Ann. And a Rent of ffive pounds per Ann. payable
 “ to It out of the Mannor of Coastewood ; which Chappell is
 “ without any preaching Minister And is very necessary and
 “ Expedient to be made A parish Church, That the Travellers which
 “ Constantly resorte to and Abide In the said Towne And the Lame
 “ and aged persons may be able to Resorte thither to heare the
 “ Word preached.”

Notice in this Hundred the *sequestrations* at South Ockendon, Upminster, Cranham, and South Weald ; the long account of Grays ; new church sought for West Thurrock ; Brentwood Chapel to be made a parish church.

BECONTREE HUNDRED AND LIBERTY OF HAVERING.
WANSTED.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Humfrye Maddison, an able godly preaching minister. Patron, the “ Honble. Sr. Henry Mildmay.” House and glebe, £47 ; tithes, £25.] “ That
 “ the Parish of Little Ilford adjoyneth to the said parish of Wansted,
 “ wherein are butt tenn or twelve famelyes ; And parte thereof
 “ (vizt) that parte thereof lying on the North side of the Roade
 “ from London to Romford, is very fitting to be layed to that
 “ parish of Wansted, being scittuate neere the Church of Wansted,
 “ and some parte thereof did formerly belong to the said parish of
 “ Wansted, As wee are Informed.”

DAGGENHAM.

[Parsonage Improprate to John ffanshawe, Esq., £90 ; belonging to the “ ffree Schoole att Brentwood,” whereunto belong all the great tithes. Also Vicarage presentative. Present Incumbent John Bowyer. Vicarage tithes, £76 10s. ; house and three acres

* *sic* ; should be “ Thomas.”

£3 10s. ; in all £80. Mr. Bowyer is an able godly preaching Minister, placed there by Sir Thomas Honynwood, Knt., guardian of Mr. Darsye, the patron.]

WOODFORD.

[Small parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Richard Isaackson. Glebe, £7 ; tithe, £72. An able painful and godly minister. Patron, Lady Eleanor Rowe.]

LAYTON.

" There is within the said parish of Layton A Viccarage presentative with Cure of soules Annexed to it, which Is Endowed with A Viccarage house very Ruinous And A great parte of It ffallen down And nott fitting for A Minister to lyve In ; And an Acre of Gleabe Land with an Orchard and the small tythes of the said parish Amounting to About Sixteen pounds per ann. And hath also three pounds per Ann. payable to It by the Owners of Layton Grange. And there is an Augmentation of Sixtie pounds per Ann. granted by Order from the Committee for Compositions att Goldsmiths hall Issuing out of A Certaine Impropriation Called new Barnes in the parish of Westham sequestered from Thomas ffanshaw, Esq. ; the under tenant whereof hath tenn pounds per Ann. for his paines in Collecting and paying In the other ffiftye pounds per Ann. ; that the said Cure is supplied by Jeremiah Levitt an able and godly Minister placed there by Order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers. That the Right of presentation to the said Lyving belongs to Mr. George Swanley, Mr. Robert Abbott and others, to whom the said Parsonage is Impropriate."

WEST HAM.

[Parsonage Impropriate called New Barnes whereof Thomas Fanshaw, Esq. is proprietor ; and Vicarage presentative.—Yates is the present Incumbent, an able and honest pious minister. House and glebe, £24 ; small tithes, £36. Augmentation of £20 out of Impropriation, granted by the Committee at Goldsmith's Hall for Compositions. " And the Inhabitants among themselves make upp his Maintenance yearely one hundred pounds."]

WALTHAMSTOWE.

[Vicarage presentative. " John Wood, Clerke, now supplies the said Cure by Order of the Committee of plundered Ministers." Value £40 ; viz., five acres of glebe, £8 ; " the Viccarage house being In parte pulled down and out of Repaire Is not fitting

“to be valued nor fitting for habitation.” Small tithes, £32. Mr. Wood “is now questioned for his Abilites And Certaine Articles are Exhibited against him to the Committee of Plundered Ministers And is disliked by the greater parte of the Inhabitants of the said parish, who will not Come to Church to heare him, whereby is great distraccon In the parish. And who hath the Right of presentation to the said lyving the said Jurors Cannot present In Regard the same hath beene long In suite and is not yett determined.”]

ILFORD PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Present Incumbent, Humfrye Richards, an able preaching minister. House and glebe (32 acres), £18; tithe, £37. Patron, Bernard Hide, Esq.]

EAST HAM.

[Parsonage Improprate to Francis Heigham, Esq., and Vicarage presentative.] “The said Vicarage being sequestred there is att present noe Constant Minister there.” [Parsonage £70; Vicarage, £65. Mr. Heigham is Patron.] “The Churchwardens . . . doe provide A Minister to performe the said Cure, and allowe him twentye shillings a weeke for his paynes; And doe likewise Allowe unto the wife of Doctr. ffairefax, the late Minister there, one ffifth parte of the said viccarage.”

HORNECHURCH.

“That within the said parish there is neyther Parsonage nor Viccarage presentative, butt the Parsonage and Gleabe Lands And all the Tythes both great and small within the said parish are appropriate to the Master Warden and ffellowes of New Colledge in Oxford. And that the said Warden and ffellowes have heretofore placed a Minister within the said parish of Hornechurch, whom they Called A Temporary Viccar, And have allowed him the small Tythes arysing within the said parish, That the said Parish is of very Large Extent And there are two Chappells In it besides the Parish Church (vizt) one att Rumfford two Myles distant from the parish Church, and the other att Havering foure Myles distant, which are very fitting to be made [parish] churches. And the Wards called Rumford Ward, Harolls Wood Ward and Colly Rowe Ward to be Annexed to the said Chappell att Rumford; And the Wards Called Havering Ward and Noake-hill Ward to the said Chappell at Havering; And soe the Parish be devided and made three several parishes.

“ That both the said Church att Hornechurch and the said Chappells
 “ are now supplied by able preaching Ministers provided by the
 “ Inhabitants of the severall precincts of Each Chappell And the
 “ said Warden and ffellowes ought to Allowe a Competent Main-
 “ tenance to the said Ministers, butt they have nott att present A
 “ Convenient Maintenance, there being butt ffifty-five pounds for
 “ the Maintenance of Mr. Whittaker, Minister of Hornechurch,
 “ And ffortye-five pounds per Ann. to Mr. Peirce, Minister of
 “ Rumford, and about twentye pounds per Ann. to Mr. Dalton,
 “ Minister of Havering, which is Allowed unto them out of the
 “ small Tythes of Each of the jurisdictions wherein the said Chappells
 “ lye, by Order of the Committee of plundered Ministers. And
 “ that the said Master Warden and ffellowes and their ffarmers
 “ and under-tenants Receive the profitts of the said Parsonage and
 “ tythes, being of the yearely value of Eight hundred pounds, the
 “ said severall allowances To the said Ministers onely deducted.”

BARKING.

“ That within the said Parish of Barking there is A Viccarage
 “ presentative whereunto the Cure of Soules is Annexed, whereof
 “ William Amys, Clarke, Is the present Incumbent and possessor.
 “ That the said Viccarage house and the small Tythes thereunto
 “ belonging are of the yearely value of One hundred pounds or
 “ thereabouts, which the said Mr. Amys Receives and Inioys,
 “ supplying the said Cure and Is an Able godly preaching Minister.
 “ And that the Warden, ffellowes and schollers of All Souls in
 “ Oxford have the Right of Presentaçon to the said Viccarage.
 “ That the said Parish is of very Large Extent, above thirtye
 “ Miles about. And within the said parish there is the towne of
 “ great Ilford being A great thoroughfare, wherein lyve above
 “ sixtye ffamelies And A Myle and upwards distant from the parish
 “ Church. And that about three years since the said Inhabitants
 “ of the said Towne upon their petition to the Committee of
 “ Plundered Ministers obteyned betweene ffortye and ffiftye
 “ pounds per Ann. out of the sequestered Tythes belonging to the
 “ hospitall of great Ilford, to have A Sermon Every Lords Day in
 “ the Afternoon to be preached unto them In the Chappell within
 “ the said town belonging to the said hospitall ; which Mainten-
 “ ance being uncertaine and the service butt for parte of the day,
 “ The said Jurors do Conceive and present that It is very Expedient
 “ and Necessary that the said Towne called great Ilford should
 “ be made A parish, And the said Chappell made A parish Church, or

“ Another Church built for the said towne ; And that soe much of
 “ the parish of Little Ilford as lyeth on the South side of the
 “ Common Road (being about six or seaven ffamelies) may be
 “ Conveniently added to the said Parish of great Ilford, And the
 “ Residue of the said parish of Little Ilford, being butt ffoure
 “ famelyes more, to be added to the parish of Wansted as aforesaid.
 “ And the said Jurors doe ffurther present that there are within
 “ Great Ilford Ward within the said Parish of Barking In the fforest
 “ there, about one hundred ffamelies which are some ffowre Miles
 “ others ffive miles distant from their parish church of Barking.
 “ And it is humbly Conceived That it is very Necessary that that
 “ parte of the said parish lying In the fforest should be made another
 “ parish, And A Church built within it neare A place called Little
 “ Geeries for the publicque service of God ; And that the Materialls
 “ of Stone Tymber and Tyles of Little Ilford Church may be
 “ Appointe [*sic*] towards the Erecting of the said church, and
 “ the bounds and Extent of the said parish to be as hereafter is
 “ Expressed : (vizt) att Strawberry hills against Chigwell, and so
 “ along the old bounds of the Parish of Barking against Woodford,
 “ and soe to Clayberry, and downe to the River to A Place called
 “ Soyes Poole, and along the River to Hockles bridge, and from
 “ thence by the River to Gane* Meade, and soe upp Cranbrooke
 “ Rill to Cranbrooke bridge, and upp the brooke against Winde
 “ lands to A peice of Land parte of the blew boars, And soe up A
 “ Lane that Leadeth to It and over the Brick-killn Lane and
 “ to the End of that Lane and downe the Comon Roade to a place
 “ called the Seaven Kings† . . . And soe all along the brooke belowe
 “ Gooses, and from thence to Wellridden, and to Meete with the
 “ boundarye betweene Daggenham and Barking, and so all along
 “ the old boundarye between Chigwell and Barking to meete with
 “ Straberry hills ; which is ffifteene miles about ; that soe the
 “ Inhabitants of the said Ward may have the word of God there
 “ preached unto them, which now they can seldom partake of,
 “ lying soe farre distant from their now parish Church, having
 “ noe other parish Church neere them by two miles, and the wayes
 “ very badd in the winter tyme.”

In this Hundred a *sequestration* is noted at East Ham, where
 ffiths were paid. But the most noticeable things are the proposals
 to make Romford and Havering separate parishes ; to abolish the
 small parish of Little Ilford, dividing it between Great Ilford and

* or “ Gave.”

† MS. King’s kings.

Wanstead ; to make a new parish of Great Ilford with (probably) the Hospital Chapel as its parish church ; and a new parish by the Forest (Barkingside and Aldborough Hatch) whose proposed boundaries are carefully noted. This last was partially carried out in 1653 ; an Act for dividing Hornchurch nearly passed in 1658.

This presentment is signed by twenty-two out of the thirty Jurors, the absentees being Edward Blott, Thomas Davenish, Francis French, Alphonsus Frith, John Lloyd, Stephen Lowdham, Robert Meadows, Robert White—three from Barking parish, four from the Liberty of Havering, and one from “ Chadwell ” (? St. Mary).

The Commissioners are (except Robert Smith of West Ham) all connected with Walthamstow, (Woodford), Romford, and Havering.

CHELMSFORD, ROCHFORD AND DENGIE HUNDREDS.

The Inquisition for the Hundreds of Chelmsford, Rochford and Dengie was taken at the “ Black Boy,” Chelmsford, Thursday September 5, 1650. The Commissioners were “ Isaack Alleyn, John Guy, Peeter Whettcombe, John Hare and John Sorrell, Esquires ;” the Jurors, “ John Brooke, Thomas Joceline, John Derwall, Daniell Rogers, Robert Sharp, Gregorye Bullen, John Sawen, Henry Bullen, Thomas Poole, John ffenn, John Goodwyn, John Wicken, William Shettleworth, Jeremy Nicholls, Richard Gillman, Edward Emerson, Thomas Sharpe, Joseph Cattmore, Isaack Bennett, Richard Spiltye (?), John Hawden, Josias Strait, William Taynter, junior, Reynall Strayte, Thomas Mawle, Phillip Bowers, Richard L——, W.* Cripps, George Asser, John Binkes, William Bitteridge, William Walker, Thomas Langdell, William Byatt, Jacob Noble, John Hills, Thomas Hull, Giles Allin, John Westrop, Augustine George, William Pond, Nicholas Blackwell, Jonas Sandford, and William Malden, gent.” [Addresses are not given.]

“ Which said Jurors upon the best Information they have or can Receive, and according to the Uttmost of their own Knowledge say and present : ”

CHELMSFORD HUNDRED.

BROOMFIELD.

“ That there is within the said Parish one Viccarage presentative. That the Incumbent of the said Viccarage is Thomas Burr, Clerke. That the true yearely value of the said Viccarage is att

* Paper torn.

“ Uttmost ffortye pounds per Ann., Arysing out of a Viccarage
 “ house and nyne Acres of Gleabe Lands and out of the small
 “ Tythes of the said parish, with a little porcōn of Tythe Corne
 “ lyng in Terling within the said Countie, of Two pounds thirteen
 “ shillings and ffoure pence per Ann. That the said Thomas Burr,
 “ Clerke, supplies the Cure and is an able preaching Minister and
 “ Receiveth for his allowance and Sallarye the said Viccarage of
 “ ffortye pounds per Ann. and noe more. That the Right of
 “ presentation to the said Viccarage was in the Bishop of London
 “ and now in the Parliament.”

BADDOW PARVA.

“ That there is a Donative Parsonage and Viccarage within
 “ the said parish. That there is noe Incumbent there, butt
 “ Matthew Rudd, gent., hath the possession of the said parsonage
 “ from Mr. William Hookes, late Incumbent, for the tearme of one
 “ and twentye yeares (which began Thirteene yeares since), att ffiftye
 “ pounds per Ann. payable to Mr. John Willson of Aldham, Clerke.
 “ That the yearely value of the said Parsonage is ffive and ffiftye
 “ pounds. And the yearely value of the said Viccarage is ffortie
 “ pounds. That there is no Minister there butt as the Parishioners
 “ hire some of their Neighbour Ministers to supply the Cure. That
 “ the Right of presentation* Is in Henry Penning, Esq.”

BADDOW MAGNA.

[Parsonage. Mr. John Paschall receives the Great Tithes,
 £100. Vicarage presentative, present Incumbent, Mr. Christopher
 Wragg, an able and godly minister, presented by Mr. Paschall.
 Value of vicarage and small tithes, £100.]

BLACKEMORE.

“ That Stephen Smith, Esq., receives the great and small
 “ Tythes of the said Parish. That Symon Lynce, Clerke, supplyeth
 “ the Cure by the appointment of the said Stephen Smith, Esq.,
 “ who payes him for his Paynes thirtye pounds per Ann. That the
 “ said Symon Lynce, Clerk, was putt out of Runwell for his scandalous
 “ life, and brought into this parish without the Consent of the
 “ well Affected Inhabitants.”

BUTSBURY.

“ That there is within the said Parish one Parsonage and
 “ Viccarage presentative, and the great and small Tythes received
 “ by the Impropietor. That Mr. Paul Negus is the Incumbent.

* Lans: “to R. & V.”

“ And the yearely value of the said Parsonage and Tythes is
 “ forty ffoure pounds ; the Viccarage house fortye shillings yearely
 “ and the Gleabe Lands three pounds and tenn shillings yearely.
 “ That the Lord Petre or Chalconer Chute, Esq., receives the
 “ proffitts and rents of the said Parsonage, Gleabe, and
 “ Tythes. That Paul Negus supplyes the Cure for [the] present
 “ upon the late petiçon of some of the said Parish to the Committee
 “ of Plundered Ministers, and hath for his reward fortye pounds
 “ yearely from Mr. Chute, in whome the Right of presentaçon is.
 “ That the said Paul Negus is an Insufficient Preacher.”

BOREHAM.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Rotheram, a very godly and orthodox divine. Vicarage and Glebe £11 10s., Tithes, £69. Patron*, the late King.]

CHIGNELL SMEALY.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. John Manning, an able preaching minister. House and glebe, £8 ; tithe, £24. Patron, Richard Luckin, Esq., “ Whoe presented the said Mr. John Manning
 “ to the lyving in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred
 “ and seaventeene.”] “ That there are small ffarmes and severall
 “ Parcels of Land in Writtle parish foure Miles distant from their
 “ owne Parish Church, neare adjoyning to the parish Church of
 “ Chignell Smealye aforesaid, ffitting to be united to that Church,
 “ that the Inhabitants may the more Conveniently Repaire thither
 “ to heare and partake of the publicke worship and service of God.”

CHIGNELL ST. JAMES.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. John ffenwicke, an able preaching minister. Glebe, £20 ; Tithe, £63. Presented by the University of Cambridge, “ the Ladye Gerrard (whoe hath the
 “ Right of presentaçon) being a Convict Recusant.”]

CHELMESFORD.

[Parsonage and Vicarage presentative ; possessor, Marke Mott, Clerke, appointed by the Parliament, who receives the proffitts of them and discharges the Cure. “ That the yearely value of the
 “ Tythes of the said parish and halfe the Tythes of the Hamblett
 “ of Moulsham are one hundred pounds, and the Parsonage house
 “ and thirteene Acres of Land, the Viccarage and other tene-
 “ ments belonging thereto are worth thirtye pounds per Ann.
 “ That the said Marke Mott doth perform and supply the Cure and
 “ was putt in by the appointment of the Parliament as aforesaid ;

* Lans.

“ and hath for his paines all the tythes and glebe, paying to Doctr. “ Michellson the fifth parte of the lyving, from whom it was “ sequestered. That the Right of presentation is in Sir Henry “ Mildmay als Lord ffitz Walter. That the said Marke Mott is “ an able preaching minister.”

DANBURY.

[Parsonage presentative ; incumbent, Mr. Richard Man, an able preaching minister, officiating there by the appointment of Parliament, but the right of presentation is in Sir Humfrye Mildmay. Value £120 ; Man receives £96, while Clement Vincent, late Incumbent, receives for his fifth part £24.]

EAST HANFIELD. [HANNINGFIELD.]

[Parsonage and Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. James Torye, by presentacon of Sir John Bamfield, Colonel Pindar and Sir William Chambers, joint patrons. Tithe £95, glebe and parsonage £18. Mr. Torye is an able preaching minister.]

FRYERNING.

[Parsonage presentative ; Incumbent, Samuel Smith, an able preaching minister, appointed by the Committee of Plundered Ministers. Tithes, £50 ; “ besides one back yard and barne yard, “ orchard and garden, and the Churchyard, to the quantity of an “ acre and a halfe. Oblations, obventions, and such like duties “ are worth 20s. yearly.” Patrons, Wadham College, Oxford.]

INGATSTONE.

[Parsonage presentative ; present Incumbent, John Willis, an able godly preaching minister. Value £80. Patron, Lord Petre.]

LEIGHES MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative ; present Incumbent, Jeffery Watts] “ presented to the said parsonage by his brother Sir John Watts, “ who procured the advowson of Sir Paul Banning, Patron. One “ half of the parish of Much Lees Lyeth in Wytham halfe hundred,” [where see “ Chattle Hamlett ”] ; “ butt the true yearly value of “ the Parsonage house and Gleabe land lying in Chelmesford is “ thirtie pounds. And the yearly value of the Tythe of that “ part of the Parish lying in Chelmesford hundred is thirtie pounds.” [Mr. Jefferye Watts is an able and godly preaching minister ; the Patrons are the Earl of Oxford and John Herbert, Esq.]

LEIGHES PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative ; possessor, John Benson, by grant

from the Earl of Warwick. Glebe, £15 ; tithe and other duties, £35 ; total, £50. Mr. John Benson is a godly preaching minister.]

MARGRETING.

“ That there is within the said parish one Viccarage presentative, “ and Mr. William Rogers is Incumbent. That the yearely value “ of the said Viccarage is ffortye pounds arysing of the small tithes, “ the Viccarage house, and three Acres of land. That the said Mr. “ William Rogers had his present Induction into the said Viccarage “ without the Consent of the Parliament or Parish aforesaid ; “ and came in immediately after one John Shrigley, Clerke, resigned “ the lyving in the Courte of Wards, the said John Shrigley being “ presented by William Lord Petre, a Recusant who was Patron “ thereof. That the said Mr. William Rogers is a constant preach- “ ing minister, but Ill Affected to the present government.”

MOUNTNEZING.

[Vicarage presentative. Tithes received by the Impropriator ; Mr. Ewster, “ a citizen of London,” is in present possession of the said Vicarage. House and land worth £15 per An.] “ Mr. Sande- “ land, a Scotch Man who hath Ingaged and is lycente [sic] by “ the Commissioners of the Militia, doth by the appointment of “ Mr. Ewster aforesaid officiate the Cure with the allowance of “ Thirty-two pounds per Annum.”

RETTENDON.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Esaiah Sutcliffe, by Order of a Committee of Parliament ; a very able and godly minister. House and glebe, £30 ; tithe, £110. Patron, formerly the Bishop of Ely.]

RUNWELL.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Oakely, put in by the Parliament ; a godly able preaching minister. House and glebe, 16 acres, £10 ; tithe, £65 ; but Mr. Oakely pays £12 yearely to Mr. Symon Lynce, late Incumbent. Patron, Mr. Edward Sylliard.]

ROXWELL.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. John Reeve, chosen by the Parishioners ; an able orthodox divine. Mr. South, the late Incumbent, deserted the Cure without sequestration. Tithe, with half an acre of ground, £32. Patron, New College, Oxford.]

SANDON.

[Parsonage presentative. Possessor, Mr. Samuel Smith, by grant of Parliament; an able preaching minister. House and glebe, £15; tithe, £100. Patron, John Johnson, D.D.]

SOUTH HANFIELD.

[Parsonage presentative. Possessor, John Arwaker, put in by the Parliament, and approved of by the Inhabitants. Glebe, £12; tithe, £48. Patron, Lord Petre.]

SPRINGFIELD.

“That there are within the said Parish two Parsonages presentative. That Mr. William Bancks is possessor of both the said parsonages. That the yearely value of one of the said parsonages called Boswells porcion is one hundred ffiftye six pounds ffifteene shillings and tenn pence (that is to saye, the house and Gleabe Lands, Sixteene pounds six shillings and eight pence, and the Tythes One hundred and ffortye pounds Nyne shillings and twopence.) That the yearely value of the other Parsonage Called Richards Porcion is Nynetye one pounds Nyneteene shillings and Eleaven pence (that is to say, the house and Gleabe Lands Twentye three pounds six shillings and eight pence and the Tythes Sixtie eight pounds thirteene shillings and three pence.) both of which said yearely values and severall parsonages the said Mr. Banckes receiveth for his paynes in supplying the Cure. That the said Mr. William Banckes supplyeth the Cure by the Appointment of the Parliament. And the Right of the presentacion to Boswells Porcion is in Sir John Tyrell, Knt., and the Right of presentacon to Richards Porcion is in Richard Barley, Esq. That the said Mr. William Banckes is an Able Godly Preacher.”

STOCKE.

[Parsonage presentative. Mr. Duke, Incumbent, came in by sequestration; he is a “verie weak and insufficient preacher.” Value £60. Right of presentation, twice in the co-heirs of Lord Banning [Bayning] and their husbands; once in Sir John Tyrell, Knt.]

WALTHAM PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative; present possessor, Mr. John Harrison, by virtue of an order from Lord Saye, Master of the Court of Wards; an able godly preaching minister. Value £116. (glebe £16, tithes £100.) Patrons, Sir Edmond Allen.]

WALTHAM MAGNA.

“ That there is within the said parish one Viccarage presentative, “ and Mr. Henry Ham* is Incumbent unanimously Chosen by the “ Parishioners and Confirmed by Order of Parliament, and since “ the death of the former Incumbent Continued by Trinity College “ in Oxford, with whom the presentacon unto the said Viccarage “ hath formerly belonged. That the yearely value of the said “ Viccarage is Sixtye pounds, consisting for the most part in small “ Tythes and dues, oblacons, obvencons, etc. That Mr. Henry “ Ham† constantly dischargeth and performeth the Cure and “ receiveth all the said Tythes and dewes for his Reward and “ Sallarye.

“ That there is in the said Parish one usefull Chappell belonging “ unto the Viccarage and Parish Church called blacke Chappell “ scittuate About three Miles distant from the said Parish Church ; “ unto which Chappell belongs noe Tythes butt certaine Lands “ purchased and given by well disposed persons (to the value of “ fflowreteene pounds per Ann.) to the end that the Inhabitants “ of North End whoe are a parte of that parish and ought to come “ to the parish Church might have the Word of God sometimes “ preached to them there. The said Chappell is fitt to be Continued “ and the Maintenance to be Increased. That there hath been “ another Chappell called Little Chappell which is now discontinued “ and Converted to Comon Uses ; unto which Antiently belonged “ Certaine Lands and tythes of some considerable value. That the “ Parish Church of Much Waltham aforesaid is well provided of “ an able godly painfull preaching Minister (viz) Mr. Henry Ham,‡ “ and also that Black Chappell aforesaid is well provided for by “ the supply of Mr. John Jackson who is also an able godly paynefull “ preaching minister.”

WIDFORD.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, George Guy, an able godly preaching minister. Parsonage and glebe £15 ; tithe £29 ; Mr. Guy was presented by Lady Altam, now deceased, “ the right “ of presentation now belongs partly to Lady Digby, partly to “ Thomas Scadolfe,§ Esq.”]

WEST HANFIELD.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Samuel Stileman,

* R. O. and Lands ; Lambeth, “ Haine.”

† See above.

‡ See above.

§ R. O. perhaps “ Sudolfe.”

an able godly preaching Minister, by grant from the Parliament. Parsonage and Glebe, £20 ; tithe, £105. Patron, Lord Petre.]

WOODHAM FERRIS.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Francis Chandelour, an able and godly minister. Value £110. Chandelour supplies the Cure by the appointment of Parliament. Patron, Sir Humphrey Mildmay.]

WRITTLE.

[One Vicarage presentative ; possessor, Mr. Abell Wrathbone, an able preaching minister, by order from the Parliament.* House, orchard and six Acres of Glebe, £8 ; small tithes, £80. Patrons, New College, Oxford, " and the Chappell of Roxwell did formerly " belong to Writtle."]. " Beadles Hall and another fiarme called " Gardiners adjoyning neare unto Smealy Chignell Church lye neare " ffive Miles from Writtle Church, their owne parish church. That " formerly A Chappell hath beene in Monckes of Barrowe where " neare ffortye ffamelyes have abode, ffoure Myles to Writtle " Church."

ROTCHFORD HUNDRED.

ASSINGDON.

[Parsonage presentative ; Incumbent, Samuel Keeble, an honest and paynefull Minister. Patron, Earl of Warwick. Glebe and tithe, £60.]

BARLING.

[Vicarage presentative. Tithes £30 ; glebe £20 ; total £50. Patron, George Pike, Esq.] Last Incumbent, William Williams, " who is under sequestration and hath his Fifths allowed." Cure supplied by " John Negoose†, Clerke, who is not yet ffully Estaticd " in the lyving ; he is a hopefull young man, and well approved " of by the parishioners."

CANUDEN.

[Vicarage presentative ; Incumbent, Mr. Norris. £100. " the " profitts arise and are due in kinde out of the great Tythes of " Apton hall, and the Wooll, Lambs, Cheese and all other small " Tythes of the whole parish." Eight or nine acres of glebe let at 48 shillings. Patron, Mr. Nicholas Cooper, in right of his wife. Mr. Norris is " a godly divine."]

* Lansd : "by seq : from Dr. South."

† Lansd : "Negus."

EASTWOOD.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £10; tithe £20; total £30. Patron, Earl of Northampton. Incumbent, Thomas Purchas, an able Divine, "but upon the Affirmation of Edward Emerson, one "of the Jurye, he is scandalous for Tipling."]

FOULNESSE.

"That there is within the said Island one Church, but whether "it be a Mother Church or a Chappell we cannott averre. Wee "believe it is a Chappell because the ministers of severall parishes "receive Composition Tythes out of several Marshes. That the "Maintenance of the said Church or Chappell is about thirty "pounds per Ann. and some yeares more when the Inhabitants "sowe their ground with Rape seed or Mustard seed. That this "allowance is paid in Monye yearely out of Certaine Marshes. "That there is one Acre of Gleabe Land but noe house. That the "Earl of Warwick is Patron. And one Mr. Goodeene* is "Incumbent, a Man well approved of by the Inhabitants."

HACKWELL.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Thomas Orseby, "whoe "is very well approved of to be an Able Preacher." House and glebe £40, tithe £40; total £80. Patron, the Earl of Warwick.]

HOCKLEIGH.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £6; tithes and other duties, £34. Patrons, Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford. Incumbent, John Bolnest, "butt not by presentacon from the "Colledge;" "noe able Minister, but very Idle, Lewd and "Druncken."]

HADLEIGH.

[Parsonage presentative. The Incumbent, Mr. Devoreux, presented by the Earl of Warwick, Patron, is "scarce settled soe "that to his prayse or dispraise wee cann saye Little, onely hope "the best." Tithe, £38 14s.; house and glebe £16, besides tithes of some 500 acres of woodlands, "of which wee cann give noe "certaine Estimate, because they are ffillable in ffourteene† or "sixteene yeares, till which severall ffalles of the respective woods "there is no benefit accrues to the Parson.]

LEIGH.

[Parsonage presentative; Incumbent, John Auger, "a man

* So Lamb: and apparently R. O. But Lansd: "Goodwin." Possibly "Goodeve."

† Lansd: "15."

“well approved of for Life and Doctrine, and for an able preaching minister.” House and glebe £7; tithe and all other profits, £42; total, £49. Patron, Earl of Warwick.]

MILTON HAMBLETT.

Nothing presentable.

NORTH SHOEbury.

[Vicarage presentative. £27 2s., viz., glebe £7 2s.; tithes, oblations, obvention, and other duties, £20. Incumbent, William Hawkesby, reputed to be a godly man. Patron, Baron Trevor.]

PRITTLEWELL.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, Thomas Peck, a painful and religious preacher. £50. Patron, Earl of Warwick.]

SOUTH Church.

[Parsonage presentative. Tithes, £90; glebe and edifices, £30; total, £120. Josias Church serves the cure, an able preaching minister. He pays Walter Holmes £65 out of the £120. “The said Mr. Holmes is Incumbent, but preacheth not, by reason he is distracted.” Patron, Sir Thomas Cheeke.]

RAYLEIGH.

[Parsonage presentative. Tithes, £110, glebe and house, £25; total £135. Incumbent, Abraham Caley, a godly and learned divine. Patron, Earl of Warwick.]

ROCHFORD.

[Parsonage presentative. £115, viz., house and glebe £34; £30 paid out of Foulness, the residue paid out of lands in the parish. Incumbent, Nicholas Beard, a godly minister. Patron, Earl of Warwick.]

RAWRETH.

[Parsonage presentative. Tithe, £80; house and glebe, £20; total, £100.] “Butt out of the said sum of one hundred pounds “yearely there is payable to the Exchequer for tenthes two pounds “one shilling and four pence att New Year’s tyde and two pounds “seaven shillings and eight pence for a pençon in Mich. terme. “That Mr. John Man is present Incumbent, and is able godly and “painefull, presented by Mr. Thomas Burrell who had the present “Advowson, but the Right of presentaçon ffor the ffuture is in “the Masters and ffellows of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, given “to that College after this last Advowson by Launcelott Andrewes “late Bishop of Winchester.”

STAMBRIDGE MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. £100. Received by Griffith Wood, an honest preaching Minister who came in by sequestration from Thomas Thorold. Patron, Suttons Hospital.]

STAMBRIDGE PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Tithe £33; house, barn, stable and glebe £17; total £50. Incumbent, John Loane, an honest preaching Minister.] "The presentacon to the said Parsonage at the tyme of his Possession was in the late King, and granted to him by the Lord Keeper of the great Seale."

SOUTH SHOEbury.

[Parsonage presentative. £55. Incumbent, John Parkhurst, an able and godly Minister. Patron, Earl of Warwick.]

SHOPLAND.

[Vicarage presentative. Tithe and glebe, £26; £4 paid out of Marshes in Foulness; total £30.] "The Right of presentacon soe ffarre as wee cann be Informed is in twoe daughters of or being co-heirs of —Tirrell, gent. That John Joye serves the cure att present and hath for his paynes eight shillings per septiman. And the parishioners want an able preaching Minister."

SUTTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Tithe, £30; house and glebe, nine acres, £8. "The tythes out of several Marshes in frouleness and lying in the parish of Sutton aforesaid" (though slackly paid), £15 15s.; total, £53. Patron, Mr. Thomas Hobson. Incumbent, Samuel Perchas, an able and godly minister.]

PAGLESHAM.

[Parsonage presentative. £80. Glebe and edifices, £7; tithe, £73. Incumbent, Mr. John Hansley,* by presentation from the late Bishop of London; an able godly preaching minister.]

SOUTH FAMBRIDGE.

[Parsonage presentative. Tithes £34; glebe with edifices £50; total £84. Patrons, the heirs of Mr. Henry Osborne, deceased. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas† Turney, an able preaching Minister.]

THUNDERSLEY HAMBLET.

Nothing presentative.

* [Archdeacon of Colchester].

† Should be "Robert."

WAKERING MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative ; tithes, oblations, etc., £69 ; house and glebe, £3 ; total, £72. Patron, Mr. Vassall in St. Mary Actes, London. Incumbent, Christopher Scott, a very able and painful minister.]

WAKERING PARVA.

[Vicarage presentative. Value by tithes and a vicarage house (ready to fall) and an acre of glebe, £40. Patrons, the Governors of St. Bartholomew's * Hospital. Incumbent, Mr. Marshall, an able and painful minister.]

DENGIE HUNDRED.

ASHELDHAM.

[Vicarage. Incumbent, William Guthry, an able minister ; came in by sequestration. House and glebe, £20 ; tithes, £49. Patron, late Bishop of London.]

ALTHORNE.

[Vicarage presentative. House and four acres, £3 ; tithes £49 5s. Incumbent, William Davyes, presented by Robert Wiseman, Esq., deceased. Present Patron, Thomas Wiseman, esq., " who hath the great Tythes at ffiftye pounds per An."]

BURNHAM.

[Vicarage presentative. House and land, £15 ; tithes, £92 17s. 6d. Incumbent, Anthony Samms, presented by the Earl of Warwick.]

BRADWELL.

[Parsonage. 191 acres, worth £110 and " the pastringe of two Coltes " ; tithes £200. Mr. John Sherman, an able minister, came in by sequestration ; the Incumbent is Doctor Gyles Burye, who is sequestered ; presented by Sir Edward Pinchion, knight.]

COLD NORTON.

[Parsonage presentative. House and 40 acres of glebe £17 ; tithe £56 ; total £73.] " fflowre Partes of which Mr. James Malden, " a godly minister, receives for officiating the Cure, appointed " by the sequestrators ; and the ffifth parte the wife of Doctor " Middleton receives from whome it stands sequestred. That the " Righte of presentaçon is in the Governors of King James Hospitall " founded in the Charterhouse."

CRIXETH.

[Parsonage presentative. House and 17 acres, £7 ; tithes £33. Minister, Richard Parker. Patron, William Bowyer, Esq.]

* P.R.O. and Lansd. ; " Suttons'," Lamb.

DENGIE.

[Parsonage presentative. House and 12 acres, and tithe. £100. Incumbent, Augustine Hill. Present Patron, Lady Beadle.]

HASLEIGH.

[Parsonage presentative. 12 acres £5; tithe £35. Incumbent Thomas Moody, an able preaching minister. Patron, Isaack Allin, Esq.]

LACHINGDON CUM LAWLINGE.

[Parsonage presentative. House and sixty acres, £30; tithes, £120 8s.; total, £150 8s. Mr. Martin Alders*: an able Minister, officiates the Cure by virtue of the Great Seal.] "There is an "olde decayed Chappell which hath beene out of use for these "many yeares, and there belonged to it Sixtie pounds per An. "in Tythe which is parte of the aforesaid £150 8s. The Chappell "wee conceive is of no necessity to be Repaired."

SNORHAM HAMBLET.

"A Donative without any Cure of souls. The Patron is Mr. "Argall, who gave it to Richard Argall, Clerke, who receives the "proffitts thereof being Nyneteen pounds per An. And there is a "Chappell there, but no publicke service of God there."

MUNDON.

[Vicarage presentative. House and six acres, £4; tithes, £50. Minister, James Carye, who came in by sequestration. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Staple, who standeth sequestred. Patron, Lord Newberye†. The great Tithes are in the possession of Sir Thomas Wiseman, Knight, to his own proper use; "by what Right "we know not."]

MAYLAND.

[Vicarage presentative. £50 house, glebe and tithes. Cure supplied by Mr. William Buckeley, an able man. Patron, Thomas Wiseman, Esq.]

NORTH FAMBRIDGE.

[Parsonage presentative. House and glebe £13; tithe £54 16s Mr. Thomas Hillyard, an honest preacher, came in by virtue of the Great Seal.]

PURLEIGH.

[Parsonage presentative. [glebe] £48; tithe, £170; total £218. Minister, Mr. John Rogers, who came in by sequestration.

* Really "Alderson."

† Lansd: "Newburgh."

He pays a fifth part to Mr. Washington. Patrons, Mr. Horsmanton and his son.]

ST. LAWRENCE.

[One parsonage and one vicarage presentative. Glebe, £5 ; tithes £80. No Minister, Thomas Crampson, Clerk, the late Incumbent, being lately dead. Patrons, the Keepers of the Great Seal.]

STEEPLE-CUM-STANSGATT.

[Vicarage presentative. House and 16 acres, £15 ; small tithes, £41. Minister, William Goodrich. Incumbent, by presentation, Mr. Nettles. Patron, Earl of Warwick.]

STOWE MARIS.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe, 36 acres, £22 ; tithes, £83 ; total, £105. Minister, Mr. John Wright, " butt by what Right " he came in wee knowe not, being newly come thither, and we " cannot judge of his Abillities." Patrons (1) Thomas Steevens of Greenwich, gent. (2) John Pinchion of Writtle, esq.].

SOUTHMINISTER.

[Vicarage presentative. £60. Incumbent, Mr. Nehemiah Holmes, an able minister. Also a Parsonage " in the hands of the " Governors of King James Hospitall founded in Charter-house by " Thomas Sutton, Esq., deceased." This let out on an improved rent is worth £60. The above Governors are patrons of both Vicarage and Parsonage.]

PART OF DENGIE HUNDRED.

TILLINGHAM.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £101 ; received by Mr. Robert Fuller, an able godly minister.] " The Parsonage tithes are Im- " propriate belonging to the Deane of Paules, and farmed by Lease " by Sir Gamaliel Capell, Knight." Patron,* the late King.

WOODHAM MORTIMER.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe, 30 acres, £15 ; tithe, £35. Received by Nathaniel Huettsen, an able minister, presented by Sir Cranmer Harris, knight, Patron.]

WOODHAM WATER.

[Parsonage presentative. House and glebe £21 ; tithe £81 6s. 8d. Mr. Edmond Castle, a godly and able minister. Patron, Charles ffittch, Esq.]

* Lansd.:

THE CORPORATION OF MALDEN.

“ That there is within the said Corpora^{ti}on Two Churches in
 “ Use, one of them knowne by the name of All Saints, the other
 “ by the name of St. Maries. All Saints is a Presentative Viccarage
 “ in the giuft of Mr. Craythorne of London, who is the Impropiator
 “ and Injoyeth the great Tythes to himself. The said Viccarage
 “ with Peeters Parish joyned to it is ffiftye pounds per Ann. For
 “ the present there is noe minister settled there, butt the Patron
 “ Intendeth to give the Viccarage to one Mr. — Horrockes, a
 “ godly able minister, it being lately resigned into the hands of the
 “ Patron, by one Mr. Huett, late Viccar there.

“ That the people of the two parishes Resorte to one Church,
 “ which they may very well doe if Competent Maintenance were
 “ settled upon it for two Ministers, which are needfull for soe great
 “ a people, and in a Towne of such Consequence, which meanes att
 “ present is butt fifty pounds per Ann.

“ That the other Church is St. Mary’s, and there is a Viccarage
 “ presentative supplied by Mr. John Simpson, a godly man. The
 “ value thereof thirtye pounds per Ann., received by the said
 “ Mr. Simpson. That there is an Improprate Parsonage which
 “ is in the hand of the heires of Edmond Church, lately deceased,
 “ by lease from the Abby of Westminster, worth £280 per Ann.,
 “ for which they pay onely £24 per Ann. to the School att West-
 “ minster.”

[For MALDON, see also MSS. Bodley, 326 and 327 ; especially
 326, f. 114, June, 1649.]

Signed by twenty-seven Jurors out of the forty-four ; the
 absentees being John Derwall, Daniel Rogers, John Sawen, John
 ffenn, John Goodwyn, William Shettleworth, Richard Spiltye (?),
 Thomas Mawle, Phillip Bowes, Richard L. . . ., W. Cripps,
 George Asser, Thomas Langdell, William Byatt, John Hills, Giles
 Allin, Jonas Sandford.

Notice the proposal to join part of Writtle to Chignal Smealy.

Sequestrations are mentioned or implied at Chelmsford, Dan-
 bury, Fryerning, Rettendon, Runwell, Roxwell, South Hanning-
 field, Sandon, Springfield, Stock, Great Waltham, West Hanning-
 field, Woodham Ferris, Writtle, Barling (Southchurch), Stambridge
 Magna, Asheldham, Bradwell, Cold Norton, Mundon, Purleigh,
 Steeple.

Payment of fifths is mentioned at Chelmsford, Danbury, Runwell, Barling, Cold Norton, Purleigh.

The chief patrons are the Earl of Warwick, eleven livings ; and Suttons Hospital (the Charterhouse) three. Lord Petre has several, and several more are in the gift of the Mildmays or the Wisemans. Colleges mentioned are Wadham (2), New, Trinity, Oxford ; and Pembroke, Cambridge (to whom Rawreth was given by Bishop Andrewes.)

Complaints of clergy occur at Blackmore, Buttsbury, Margaretting, Eastwood, Hockley.

HUNDREDS OF ONGAR, HARLOW AND WALTHAM.

ONGAR DIVISION.

The Inquisition for this Division was held at the Crown, Chipping Ongar, Monday, Sept. 9, 1650. The Commissioners were Sir William Masham, Baronet ; William Masham, Joachim Mathewes, Sampson Sheffield, and Henry Wollaston, Esqres., and Samuel Champness, gent. The Jurors were William Nutt of Chigwell, gent., Robert Young of Chipping Ongar, gent., William Finch of the same, gent., Jersam Holmes of Chigwell, gent., Robert Davyes of Loughton, gent., Richard Stocke of the same, Edward Palmer of Lamborne, gent., William Bridges of the same, Thomas Luther of Stapleford Tawnye, Esq., Robert Waylett of the same, Rolfe Petis of Kelvedon, gent., Isaack Davies of Norton Mandeville, gent., Zacharie Bell of the same, gent., John Poole of Bubbingworth, gent., Robert Ashwell of Fyfeild, gent., Thomas Cranfeild of Stanford Rivers, gent., John Savill of Harlowe, gent., Henry Fuller of the same, gent., Christopher Sumpner of Matching, gent., John Stacey of Great Halingburie, Robert Taylor of Little Halingburye, gent., John Tredgold of the same, gent., Humfrye Jaggard of Great Paringdon, gent., Richard Collins of the same, gent., John Greene of Hastingwood hamblett, gent., Thomas Winspere of Waltham Abbey, gent., Edmond Cooke of the same, gent., William Etheridge of the same, gent., Robert Snell of Chingford, gent., Giles Carter of Upshire hamblett, gent., and Martin Trott of Nasing, gent.

“ which said Jurors according to the best Information they
“ can receive and the Uttmost of their owne Knowledge, say and
“ returne as ffolloweth : ”

ONGAR HUNDRED.

ABBAS ROOTHING.

“ That within the Parish of Abbas Roothing there is a Parsonage Presentative whereunto the Cure of Soules is Annexed, and that John Wood, Clarke, is the present Possessor thereof, by vertue of an Order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers appointed by the Parliament; and that to the said Parsonage there is belonging the said Parsonage house and outhouses and about sixteene Acres of Glebe Land of the yearely value of ffifteene pounds. And that the Tythes of the said Parish being all due and payable to the said Parsonage are of the yearely value of threescore pounds. And that the said Mr. Wood now supplies the Cure of the said parish and Receiveth the profitts of the said Parsonage and Tythes, in all amounting to threescore and fifteen pounds per Ann., and is a godly preaching Mynister. And that Sir Gamaliell Capell, knight, hath the presentation and Right of Patronage of the said Parsonage.”

BELCHAMP ROOTHING.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, John Sydaye, an able godly preaching minister. House and glebe, £28; tithes £36 10s., total, £64 10s. *Patron, Mr. Sydaye, Cloather.]

BUBBINGWORTH.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, John Poole, “ a man well approved of by the parishioners, and a constant preaching minister.” House and glebe, £26; tithes, £54. Patrons, Lady Ramsden and Robert Bourne Esq.]

CHIGWELL.

“ That within the parish of Chigwell there is a Parsonage without Cure of Soules, and likewise a Viccarage presentative whereunto the Cure of Soules is belonging. That Thomas Andrewes, gent, is now in possession and Receives the profit of the said Parsonage by vertue of a lease for two lyves yet in being made by Roger ffenton sometime Doctor in Divinity, Prebend of Pauls Church, London, and Penetenshiarye† of Panchras Pauls, by vertue of which place he was Patron both to the said Parsonage and Viccarage. The Rent Reserved upon the said Lease payable to the said Prebend and his successor is ffifteene pounds per An. which is now payable to the Committee of Parliament for sequestracon. That there is belonging to the said Parsonage

* Lansdowne only.

† Lans: “ Penitentiary.”

“ one dwelling house with a barne and stable, about twentye eight
 “ Acres of Gleabe Land, and a Grove Conteyning about twenty
 “ Acres, in all worth about ffive and twenty pounds per An. if the
 “ same were now to be Lett ; and the great Tithes of Corne and
 “ haye belonging to the said Parsonage are of the yearely value
 “ of fiortye and ffive pounds or thereabouts. In all amounting to
 “ Seaventye pounds per Ann ; out of which the said Mr. Andrewes
 “ payes onely the said Rent of ffifteene pounds per Ann., and the
 “ Residue he receives to his owne use by vertue of the said Lease
 “ which he hath as he affirmeth to us, butt wee have not seen the
 “ same. To the said Viccarage there is belonging one dwelling
 “ house, a barne and stable, and eight Acres of Glebe Land of ye
 “ yearely value of ffifteene pounds, and the small Tythes arysing
 “ within the said Parish amount to the value of Sixtie pounds per
 “ Ann. or thereabouts.

“ That att this Present there is noe settled Mynister within the
 “ said Parish, Doctor Utye who was presented by the said Doctor
 “ ffenton being putt out by sequestracon ; and the Cure is now
 “ supplied by such as the parishioners cann provide, who are
 “ satisfied by the parishioners out of the Viccarage Tythes.”

FYFIELD.

“ Parsonage presentative whereof—
 “ Walker, Clarke, is the present Incumbent by Presentacon from the
 “ Earle of Warwicke, the Patron thereof. That the Parsonage house
 “ Glebe lands and a small Tenement belonging thereunto is of the
 “ yearely value of thirtye ffive pounds, or thereabouts, and the
 “ Tythes of the said Parish payable to the said Parsonage of the
 “ value of one hundred and twentye pounds per Ann. or there-
 “ abouts. And that Henry Havers, Clerke, now supplies the Cure
 “ within the said parish and receives the profit of the said
 “ Parsonage until Michs. next, by the appointment of the said
 “ Mr. Walker.”

GREENESTEDD.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Nathan Lacye, a constant
 preacher and well approved of by his parishioners. House and
 glebe, £25 ; tithes, £25. Patron, Mrs. Young.]

KELVEDON.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, George Bound, an able
 godly preaching minister, “ placed there by order of the Committee

of Plundered Ministers, Mr. Wythers the late Incumbent being sythence deceased." House and glebe, £16; tithes, £45. Patron*, late Bishop of London.]

LAMBURNE.

[Parsonage presentative. Gamaliel Carr came in by sequestration. House and glebe, £25; tithes, £75. Mr. Carre is an able godly preaching minister. Patron, John Blumfield, gent., "as we conceive."]

HIGH LAVER.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Thomas King, "who came in by presentation, institution and induction, and is an honest able preacher of the truth." House and glebe, £30; tithes, £90. Patron, Sir Thomas Walsingham "as we believe."]

MAGDALEN LAVER.

[Parsonage presentative. "Phillip Sanders, Clerke, supplies the Cure there, being appointed thereunto by some Authority derived from the Parliament." House and glebe, £20; tithe, £60, "the profitts of all which is now received and taken by the said Mr. Sanders for his godlye preaching and paines in the ministrye there." Patron, John Throgmorton, gent., "as we are informed."]

LITTLE LAVER.

[Parsonage presentative. House and glebe, £54; tithes, £36.] "John Oliver, Clerke. . . is returned by two of the three "of the Parishioners sworne to Informe us to be unable and Insufficient; but some of us of the Jurye (knowing the said Mr. Oliver) are satisfied of the Contrarye, and the said Mr. Oliver "hath produced to us divers credible Certificates on his behalfe, "soe that wee shall humbly refer the same to the Commissioners "for this purpose to judge of him and his abillityes." [Patron, Richard Collins, gent.]

"The Commissioners have considered of this Returne, and "conceive Mr. Oliver to be Insufficient."

LOUGHTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Richard Willis, Clerke, by presentacon from John Wroth, esq., Patron. House and glebe, £36; tithes, £35 6s. 8d., received by Mr. Willis for "his godly preaching and paynes in his Ministrye there."]

* Lansd: only.

MORETON.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Samuel Hoard, an honest able preacher, presented by Robert, Earl of Warwick, the Patron. House and glebe, £40; tithes, £80.]

NAVESTOCKE.

“ . . . Parsonage without Cure of Soules, and a Viccarage
 “ whereto the Cure of Soules is Annexed. And that Charles Wal-
 “ grave, gent., a Recusant as wee are Informed, Receiveth the
 “ proffitts of the said Parsonage by vertue of a Lease made by
 “ the Master ffellowes and schollers of Trinity Colledge in Oxford
 “ under the Rent of tenn Pounds per Ann. as wee are Informed.
 “ That the Parsonage house Gleabe lands and Tythes belonging to
 “ it are of the yearly value of ffiftye pounds, if the same were now
 “ to be lett. That the Viccarage and small Tythes belonging
 “ to it is of the yearly value of Sixtie pounds per Ann. or there-
 “ abouts, which is received and taken by—Manning, Clarke, the
 “ present Viccar there by the Elecon of the said Parish and is
 “ an able godly preaching Minister.”

NORTON MANDEVILE.

[One Parsonage which is Donative. Incumbent, Edward Whiston.] “ Isaack Davyes receives the proffitts. . . by vertue of a Lease to him made by Mr. John Ditchfield, the Proprietor thereof, at the rent of £12 payable to the said Mr. Ditchfield.” [House and glebe £12; tithe £30. Mr. Whiston] “ is an able and godly Minister and hath onely twentye pounds per Ann. paid and allowed to him for his paines by the said Mr. Ditchfield who hath the donation of the said lyving.”

NORTHWEALD BASSETT.

[Vicarage presentative. House and land, £12; tithes, £58. “ Symon Lynce supplies the Cure by presentation of the Bishop of London; an able Minister*, and a Man well liked of by the “ parishioners.” He pays yearly £2 18s. 4d. to Mr. Richard Searle of Epping, and 26s. 8d. for a Tenth. The Bishop of London has the presentation one time and Mr. Searle the other time.]

HIGH ONGAR.

“ That in the said Parish of High Ongar there is one Parsonage
 “ presentative with the Cure of Soules annexed to it. To which
 “ Parsonage (being a Mannor) there are about Tenn Coppiehold
 “ Tennants belonging and about thirteen Acres of Customary Land

* Lans: “ Preacher.”

“and about Eightye Acres of Gleabe Land. That the said Parsonage house and Gleabe land is of the yearely value of sixtye pounds, and the Tythes of the said Parish payable to it of the yearely value of one hundred and ffortye pounds, or thereabouts. And that the Tythes of Ongar Parke for which Sir Richard Minshall Claymes a Custome att three Pounds per Ann. are worth Tenn pounds per Ann. if noe such custome bee. That John Lavender, Clerke, supplies the Cure of the said Parish and receives the proffitts of the said parsonage and Tythes and is an able godly preaching minister. And is there placed by sequestration. And that the Right Honble Robert Earle of Warwicke is Patron of the said parish Church.”

CHIPPING ONGAR.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Elias Pledger, an able and godly Minister, presented by Maurice Barrowe, Esq., Patron. House and tithes, £50.]

SHELLEY.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Edward Greene, a preaching minister, by grant from Robert Greene, gent., Patron. House and 30 acres of Glebe, £22 10s. ; tithes, £25.]

STANFORD RIVERS.

[Parsonage presentative. Possessor, Matthew Elliston, by sequestration ; of godly conversation and an able preacher. Patron, the Chancellor of the Duchy. House and glebe, £30 ; tithes, £120] “of which Richard Minshall, Knight, payes onely ffoure pounds, which he pretends by Custome he ought to paye no more for About Eight hundred Acres of land in Ongar Park which is worth Sixteene pounds per Ann. for the Tythes, if noe such Custome be.”

STONDON MASSEY.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, — Sabridge, by presentation from Sir Nathaniel Rich, Patron. House and glebe, £24 ; tithes, £32 14s. 4d.] “And there is a Rent of ffourteene pounds per Ann. payable to the said Parsonage out of a ffarm called Markes hall. In all amounting to Seaventye pounds ffourteene shillings and ffour pence. . . . Colonell Nathaniell Rich having now the Right of presentation to the said lyving.”

STAPLEFORD ABBOTT.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Lewis Calendine, by grant under the Great Seal ; an able godly preaching minister. House and glebe, £20 ; tithes, £81 3s. 4d.]

STAPLEFORD TAWNYE.

[Parsonage presentative. Possessor, Thomas Horrox, a godly preaching minister, by order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers. House and glebe £17 13s. 4d.; tithes, £59 5s. 6d.* Patron, Sir Edmond Allen, Baronet.]

THOYDON BOICE.

“That within the said Parish there is a Parsonage Improprate to Edward Eldrington, Esq., and noe other spirituall Lyving, whereunto all the great Tythes of the parish are payable. And that the said Mr. Eldrington ought to provide a Minister to supplye the said Cure, butt doth not nor hath done for these many yeares, soe that the same is now destitute; and there is not above twentye pounds per Ann, within the said parish payable to the maintenance of the minister there, which Allowance is so small that noe godly able minister will accept of it.”

THOYDON MOUNT.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Walter Wells, a godly and able preaching minister; by order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers. Parsonage and tithes, £92, out of which 26s. and 8d. is paid for Tenths. Patron, Edward Smith, Esq.]

THOYDON GARNON.

[Parsonage presentative. Possessor, John fferrebye, by order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers; an able godly minister. House with one tenement and 50 acres of glebe, £50; tithe, £123 19s. 8d. received by Mr. fferrebye by way of Composition with the Parishioners. Patron, Daniel Dunne, Esq.]

HARLOWE HUNDRED.

HARLOWE.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, Edward Spranger, an able godly preaching minister. Glebe, £15; tithes, £65. Patron Thomas Addington, Esq.]

HALINGBURY MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. Possessor, William Hales, by order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers; an able godly preaching Minister. House and 50 acres of barren glebe, £24; tithes, £110. Mr. Hales pays yearly £20 to the wife of the late Minister there, from whom the same was sequestered.] † Patron, Thomas Hone, gent.

* Lans: gives total £129.18.10. i.e., glebe £70 instead of £17.

† Lans: only.

HALINGBURY PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Possessor, John Willson, by order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers ; an able godly preaching minister. House and 22 acres of glebe, £12 ; tithes, £80. Patrons, Governors of Sutton's Hospital.]

MATCHING.

" That within the said parish of Matching there is a Parsonage
 " Improprate towards the Mayntenance of a ffree schoole and
 " Almes house in ffelsted, and likewise a Viccarage presentative
 " with Cure of Soules annexed to it. And that Nehemiah Long,
 " Clerk, is the present Incumbent and possessor of the same by
 " presentacon of the Earle of Warwicke and the foundation of
 " ffelsted aforesaid in whom the Right of presentacon is. That
 " to the said Viccarage there is a house and about Eight Acres of
 " Gleabe Lands belonging, to the value of ffive pounds per Ann.
 " And the Tythes of ffive hundred Acres of Land within the said
 " parish which belongs to the said Viccarage, of the value of twentye
 " and ffive pounds per Ann. or thereabouts. And there is a Rent
 " of twentye pounds per Ann. paid to the said Viccarage out of
 " the said Impropriation, which in all makes the Maintenance of
 " the Minister ffiftye pounds per Ann., which the said Mr. Long
 " receives and supplyes the said Cure, and is a godly able paynefull
 " preaching minister."

LATTON.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, Thomas Denn. House and glebe, £40 ; small tithes, £10. Mr. Denn is an able and godly Teacher.* Patron, James Altham, Esq.]

NETTSWELL.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Thomas Cramphorne, by presentation from Sir William Martin, knight, the Patron ; a godly preaching minister. House and glebe, £5 ; tithes and customary compositions, £55.]

PARRINGDON MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Jeremiah Dike, by presentation from Mr. Prim, " presentator for that tyme " ; an able minister. House and glebe, £15 ; tithes and other duties, £67. Patrons, St. Thomas Hospital, Mr. Harbin, and Mr. Prim, successively.]

* Lans : Preacher.

PARRINGTON PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, William Haughton, by grant from — Gilley, gent., the Patron ; an able preaching minister. House and glebe, £12 ; tithes and other duties, £25.]

ROYDON.

“ That within the said parish of Roydon there is a Parsonage
 “ Improprate to the Earl of Salisbury. And there is allsoe
 “ one Viccarage whereunto the Cure of Soules is annexed. That
 “ Brockett Smith, Clerke, is the present Incumbent and possessor
 “ of the said Viccarage, by presentacon from the said Earl of
 “ Salisbury. And the said Viccarage house and the small Tythes
 “ payable thereunto (are) of the value of Twenty ffive pounds per
 “ Ann. or thereabouts, which is all the Maintenance the said Mr.
 “ Smith receives for supplying the said Cure ; who preacheth con-
 “ stantlie twice Every Lords Daye, butt being Returned to the
 “ said Jurors to be of late a Man of a Scandalous Life, the said
 “ Mr. Smith hath made his appearance before them. and severall
 “ Credible Certificates from divers Gentlemen of qualitty and
 “ Neighbour Ministers and a Certificate under the hands of the
 “ most part of the Inhabitants of the said parish on his behalfe ;
 “ which nevertheless we leave to the Commissioners to judge of.”

SHEERING.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, John Ward, by presentation from Sir Thomas Hewett, knight, Patron ; an able godly preaching minister. Dwelling house and about 24 acres of glebe and two of woodland, £12 ; tithes, £80.]

HATFIELD BROADOAKE.

“ That within the said parish there is a Parsonage Improprate
 “ to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, and is a Laye ffee, whereunto
 “ all the great Tythes of the said parish do belong. And there is
 “ allso a Viccarage presentative by the said Colledge, to which
 “ belongs only an Orchard and two Acres of land and noe house.
 “ And the Viccar hath usually received the Tythe hopps, Tythe
 “ wooll, and some small quantitty of Tythe wood, within the said
 “ parish, butt by what Right the said Jurors cannot present.
 “ And there is allso payable yearely to the said Viccar from the
 “ said Colledge Three pounds eleven shillings and Eight pence by
 “ way of Pencon. The proffitts of all which doe not Amount unto
 “ fforty marks per Ann. Which proffitts are sequestred from
 “ Francis Parker, Clerke, the late Incumbent, into the hands of
 “ certain men of the said parish to gett the Cure supplied, which

“ is accordingly done by John Warren, Clerke, who now supplies
 “ the same, and hath hitherto been gratified by the Voluntary Con-
 “ tributions of the parishioners and is a godly able preaching
 “ Minister.”

WALTHAM HUNDRED.

CHINCKFORD.

“ . . . Parsonage presentative. George Byrome, Doctor
 “ in Divinity, is the present Possessor thereof by some Order of
 “ Parliament as is Conceived. That there is belonging to the
 “ Said Parsonage Certaine glebe lands worth about twentye pounds
 “ per Ann. And the Tythes arysing out of Corne, hay, wool*,
 “ lamb, and other Tythes, together with the Custome Rate of Nyn-
 “ pence per Cowe in Nether streete and Six pence the Cowe for the
 “ Rest of the Inhabitants, and other Customs and obventions due
 “ to the said Parsonage, Amount to the value of seaventye and
 “ ffoure pounds per Ann. or thereabouts.† That the said Doctor
 “ Byrome now supplies the said Cure and receives the proffitts of
 “ the said parsonage. And it is conceived the Right of presentacon
 “ to the said lyving is in Tho. Boothby, Esq.”

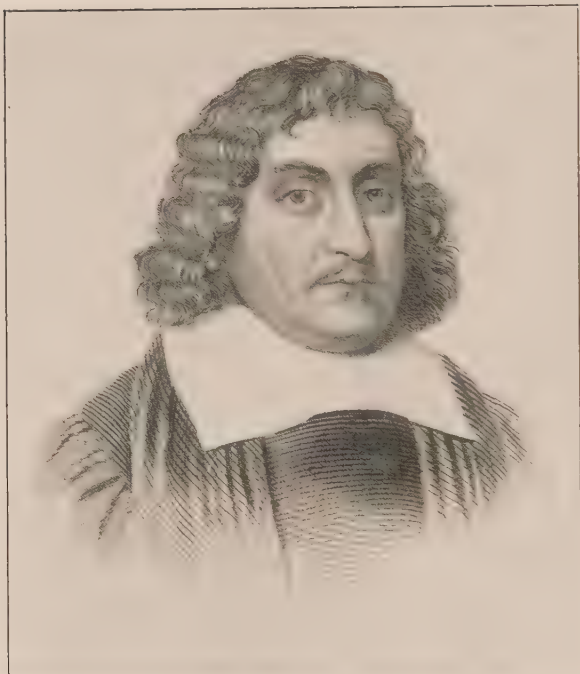
EPPING.

“ That within the said parish of Epping there is onely the
 “ Viccarage presentative with Cure of Soules annexed to it, where-
 “ of — Harper, Clerk, is the present possessor by Order from the
 “ Committee of Plundered Ministers, and upon the petition and
 “ request of the parishioners and with the consent of the Lord
 “ Grey the Patron. That the Viccarage house and Glebe Lands are
 “ of the value of six pounds per Ann. and the small Tythes arysing
 “ within the said parish of the value of Nynetic ffoure pounds per
 “ Ann., which the said Mr. Harper now receives for his paynes in
 “ supplying the said Cure, and is an able godly preaching minister.”

“ And the said Jurors ffurther present that within the said
 “ parish of Epping there is a ffaire Markett towne in which In-
 “ habitt the greatest part of the Parishioners of the said Parish,
 “ wherein is a very fair Chappell of bricke and tymber and well
 “ repaired and in all things Commodiously fitted for the publicque
 “ service of God. That the said Chappell and Markett towne is
 “ scittuate about two Myles distant from the said parish church
 “ or any other Church, by reason whereof and of the badd wayes

* or “ wood.”

† Lansd : gives total as £102.



THOMAS FULLER, 1608-1661.
AUTHOR OF "WORTHIES OF ENGLAND."
CURATE OF WALTHAM ABBEY, 1649-1658.

“thither the Inhabitants within the said towne cannot Con-
 “veniently Repaire to the said parish Church. That there are
 “noe Lands, Tenements, Rents, Tythes or other Duetyes belonging
 “to the said Chappell, by means whereof there is noe Minister
 “there, having noe Maintenance for one. That it is very Ex-
 “pedient and Necessarye that the said Chappell should be con-
 “tinued and made a Parish Church, that the Inhabitants within
 “the said town may there heare the Word of God preached, which
 “now by reason of their farre distance from any church they
 “seldome canne attaine unto.”

NASING.

[Parsonage Improprate to the Earl of Carlisle, and Viccarage presentative. Vicarage house and glebe, £30; tithes and customary profits, £20.] “That the said Viccarage is now sequestered and in the hands of divers of the parishioners, by Order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers; and there is noe settled Minister there, butt the sequestrators provide one Henry Albye,* Clerk, att present to supply the said Cure, and allow him Tenn shillings for every Sabbath day he continueth Viccar there.”

WALTHAM.

“That within the said Parish the Parsonage and all the Tythes
 “within the said parish are Impropriated to the Earle of Carlisle,
 “and there is no Viccarage there; and the said Earle allows Mr.
 “Fuller the present Minister the sum of one hundred pounds per
 “Ann., who supplyes the said Cure and is an able godly preaching
 “Minister, there placed by the said Earle. That the said hundred
 “pounds per Ann. is a Certeine Sallarye payable to the Viccars of
 “the said parish out of a Certeine ffarme called Clareham Burye.”

The Return is signed by thirty Jurors, but not quite identical with those whose names are given above. Richard Stocke, Thomas Luther, Giles Carter, and Robert Waylett are replaced by Thomas Howe, William Waylett and a second John Stacy. It is possible that Howe was accidentally omitted in the first list; that Waylett's Christian name is wrongly given in one case; and that John Stacy has replaced someone else.

Notice in this Division complaints about the ministers of Little Laver and Roydon, and sequestrations, mentioned or implied, at Abbess Roding, Chigwell, Kelvedon, Lambourne, Magdalen Laver,

* Lansd: “Albery.”

High Ongar, Stanford Rivers, Stapleford Tawney, Theydon Mount, Theydon Garnon, Great Hallingbury (fifths paid), Little Hallingbury, Hatfield, Chingford, Epping, Nazing.

It is recommended that Epping Chapel be made a parish Church.

Notice also details given at Chigwell, High Ongar, Theydon Bois, Matching, Hatfield, Chingford.

For the Hundreds of Dunmow, Uttlesford, Freshwell, and Clavering, the Inquisition was taken at the Saracen's Head, Great Dunmow, September 12, 1650.

The Commissioners were Christopher Muschamp, Esq., William Collard, Robert Calthrop, Robert Beard, Samuel Champnes, gent.

The Jurors, 38 in number, were Ignatius Glascock, Thomas Smith, Walter Luckin, John Guinee, James Collin, John Styles, Phillip Winterfloud, Charles Havers, Robert Harte, John Wale, Thomas Banes, William Andrewes, George Savell, Nathaniell Carter, John Heath, Edward Humfrye, John Gardiner, John Buck, William Pettit, Nicholas Westwood, Thomas Westwood, Edward Savell, Richard Young, Edward Daye, Henry Aylett, Daniell Algor, Willm. Jocelin, William Rust, Charles Howland, Edward Eve, James Woodley, John White, John Sandford, Phillip Maschall, John Stubbin, Francis Raynor, John Ashbye, and William Huttley.

DUNMOW HUNDRED.

THAXTED.

"Inprimis, wee present that in the parish of Thaxsted there
 "is a Viccarage presentative to which there belongeth a Viccarage
 "house and severall Tythes together with the sum of thirty pounds
 "yearely payd to the said Viccarage yearely by William Lord
 "Maynard in lieu of Tythe hops. All which wee finde to be worth
 "Seaventie pounds per Ann. Wee present that Mr. James Parkins
 "is the present Incumbent, and that he was putt in by the Parlia-
 "ment the twelveth of November one thousand six hundred
 "ffortye and seaven, the Church then being sequestred from Mr.
 "Samuel Hall, the then Incumbent. Wee present that Mr. Parkins
 "receiveth the Tythes and proffitts belonging to this Viccarage,
 "and hee doth officiate and serve the Cure, and that hee is a quiett
 "man and taketh great paines in his callinge. And that William
 "Lord Maynard hath right of presentation to this viccarage."

BROXTED.

[Vicarage presentative. House and several tithes, total value

£40. Incumbent, Mr. John Chadwick, a very godly and an able preacher. Patron, Sir Henry Awdley.]

LINDSELL.

[Vicarage presentative. House, several tithes, and a pension of £4 6s. 8d. paid by Lord North "out of his Impropriation lying in the same Town"; total value, £40. Incumbent, Mr. Elisha Pratt, a very honest and painful minister. Patron, Lord North.]

LEADING ROTHING.

[Parsonage presentative. Forty acres of glebe, with several tithes, total value £90. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Brand, a preaching minister. The right of presentation was in the late King.]

WILLINGER (Lansd. "Willingale") SPAINE.

[Parsonage. House, glebe and tithes, total value £67. Incumbent, Mr. Anthonie Nicholas. Patron, the late Lord Keeper.]

EUISTON* PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value £76. Incumbent, Mr. John Docklye, an able preaching minister. Patron, William, Lord Maynard.]

WILLINGALE DOO.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value £100. Incumbent, Mr. Henry Greenwood, a preaching minister "putt in by the Parliament, the church being then sequestred from Doctor Watts, the then incumbent." Patron, Robert Cole, Esq.]

SHELLOW.†

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe (12 acres) and several tithes, total value £30. Incumbent, Mr. John Reeve, a constant preaching minister.] "And wee finde that Willingale Doo and Willingale Spaine the churches stand both in one churchyarde. And wee conceive that Willingale Spaine maye very well be annexed to this church of Shellowe, to which Sir Richard Wiseman hath right of presentation."

EUISTON MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value £180. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Leader, an able preaching minister. Patron, Lord Maynard.]

* Lansd: "Earston." i.e., Easton.

† Lambeth omits name.

DUNMOW PARVA.

"Wee present that in this Parish is a Donative which is the
 "ffree guift of this present Parliament. Mr. William Skingle*
 "serveth the Cure, being presented to the same by Sir William
 "Masham, Baronet, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six
 "hundred ffortye and nyne, and he is a godlye and painefull minister,
 "and for his Reward and Sallarye he Receiveth certaine Tythes
 "to the value of threescore pounds."

Lansd. adds, "Augmentation £40 by Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall, on composition of Adrian May. Qy, whether included in the £60 ?

HIGH ROTHING.

[Parsonage presentative. Certaine glebe lands and several tithes, but no house ; value £100. Incumbent, Mr. Francis Hill, put in by the Parliament in 1647, the church being sequestered from Mr. Duke, the then Incumbent. Patron, Sir Robert Jocelyne.]

BARNISH ROTHING.

"Wee present that in this Parish is a Parsonage Improprate
 "which is divided, the one Moyetie to Mr. William Meade who
 "serveth the cure, and the other Moyetie to Mr. Edward Sampford.
 "And wee finde that the Parsonage house Gleabe land and Tithes
 "are worth together seaventye ffive pounds per Ann. and that
 "Mr. Sampford doth paye yearely out of his Moyetie to Mr. Meade
 "which serveth the cure tenn pounds. And wee doe also finde
 "that the said Mr. Meade is not an able nor a painefull preacher."

CANFELD PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes ; total value, £135. Incumbent, Mr. John Glascock, an able preacher ; he has also the right of presentation.]

BARNSTON.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value £90. Incumbent, Mr. John Beedle, an able preacher. Patron, Robert Earl of Warwick.]

WHITE ROTHING.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, £162, "att two shillings in the pounge, and hath beene lett for two hundred pounds." Incumbent, Mr. William Sampford, "but, as we are Informed, he is not a godly nor a paineful minister.† Patron, Sir Richard Everard, Baronet.]

* Lansd : "Skingle."

† Lansd : "preacher."

CHICKNIE.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value £61.] “Mr. Thomas Archer now serveth the cure, being putt in by the Parliament, the church being sequestred from Mr. Michell. Mr. Archer is an able divine. And wee finde that he payeth out of this parsonage twelve pounds per Ann. to the wife of Mr. Michell from whom it was sequestred.” [Patron, Mr. James Collin.]

CANFEILD MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. £35. Mr. Francis Bridge, an able divine, serves the cure, put in by the Parliament in 1647, it being sequestered from Mr. Roger Flint. Patron, Dame Elizabeth Wiseman.]

TILTYE.

Donative. William Lord Maynard is Patron thereof. The lands are all tithe-free. “The church is constantly supplied with a preaching minister, and for the most parte by the Lord Maynard’s household Chapleine, butt what Stipende or Salarye he is allowed we knowe not.”

MASHBURYE.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value £66.] “Mr. Henrye Bates doth now serve the cure and receiveth the proffitts, butt is not approved of by the said parish. The Ladye Gerrard is Patroness, who is a Recusant, and in that regard the Universitye of Cambridge did present to this Parsonage Mr. Robert Graye, brother to the Lord Graye of Warke, who was Incumbent about the yeare one thousand six hundred ffortye and three. And how the said Mr. Bates came in his roome wee know not, for he will not inform the parishioners by what order he is placed there.”

PLESHEY.

[Rectory Improprate, worth £40.] “out of which is yearlye paid to him that officiateth and serveth the cure the sum of “nyne pounds by Mr. George Bonyman who is the possessor thereof, “as we are informed, and as we allso finde by an order of the “Committee of Parliament for Plundered Ministers bearing date “[May 27, 1644]; which Committee for further increase of maintenance of such minister as shall officiate the said cure have added “thereunto the sum of thirty-two pounds per Ann. now issuing “out of the Parsonage of Borlye* and Boreham. Mr. Thomas “Keeler doth serve the cure, butt by whose appointment the

* Lansd: “Barlinge.”

“ parishioners knowe not, neyther do they like or approve of the
 “ man, being as they saye a very weak preacher. There is allso
 “ a porcon of tythes which are holden by Mr. Ignatius Gloscoe*
 “ by lease for twelve yeares yet to come from the Deane and Chapiter
 “ of West Minster under the yearely rent of thirty-five shillings and
 “ ffoure pence, and are worth ffourteene pounds per Ann.”

EYTHROP ROTHING.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, in all £90.
 Incumbent, Mr. Richard Argall, an able divine. Patron, Mr.
 Thomas Aylett.]

DUNMOWE MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. £80. Incumbent, Mr. John Smith,
 an honest godly minister, put in by the Parliament in 1647, the
 living being sequestered.] “ There is a Chappell of Ease belonging
 “ to this Church which doth lye neare ffoure myles distant from the
 “ parish church, butt there is not any tythes or proffitts belonging
 “ to this Chappell, neyther is this Chappell of any use nor hath
 “ beene for divers yeares, nor is there any neede to have it con-
 “ tinued as a Chappell to our knowledge. There is a parsonage
 “ in this towne which is holden by Lease granted to Sr. Arthur
 “ Lake, Knight, by the Bishop of London, which Lease doth expire
 “ about the ffoure and twentyeth day of June one thousand six
 “ hundred and sixtie.† The yearely rent reserved upon this Lease
 “ is ffortye and two pounds thirteene shillings and fflowre pence,
 “ out of which there is payed to the Vicarage the yearely sum of
 “ Six pounds thirteen shillings and fflowre pence, and to Mr. John
 “ Mann, Receiver of the sequestred rents in this division the sum
 “ of thirty six pounds, besides three pounds per Ann. in quitt rents
 “ due to the said Parsonage, as it is a Mannor. And were this
 “ Parsonage now to be lett it were worth two hundred nynetie three
 “ pounds per Ann.”

GOOD EASTER.

[Vicarage presentative. £34. Present Incumbent, Mr. John
 Leichfeild, a very godly and able minister. Patron, Earl of War-
 wick.]

HIGH EASTER.

[Vicarage presentative. House, three acres and tithes, in all
 £34.] “ Mr. Martyn Holbech doth serve the cure and soe hath
 “ done for the space of two yeares last past, in which tyme he

* i.e. Glascock: so Lansd.

† Lansd: “ 1668.”

"hath received very little proffitts. He is a very godly and an able divine. The Right of presentacon was in the Deane and Chapter of Paules, London. There is in this parish likewise a porcon of great Tythes together with the Tythes of hops and wood, holden by Lease made by the Deane and Chapter of Paules, London, to Mr. Ignatius Glascocke for the tearme of three lyves (vizt) his owne life, Mr. William Glascocke of Aldham, and Mr. Thomas Glascocke, Cittizen of London. The Lease beareth date the nineteenth of December one thousand six hundred twentye and six, under the yearely rent of thirty-two pounds five shillings six pence, which Rent is now paid to Mr. Church, Receiver for the State. And were the same tythes now to be lett, they were worth two hundred and thirtye pounds per Ann."

MARGARETT ROTHING.

[Parsonage presentative ; house, 50 acres of glebe, and tithes—in all £80. Present incumbent, Mr. John Stable, an able preacher.] "There hath been heretofore a Chappell of Ease belonging to this Church, butt it is long since ffalne downe and out of use. To which did belong certaine Tythes to the value of ffoureteene pounds per Ann. which are now payed to Mr. Sabridge, Parson of Stondon. Isaack Allen of Haslye, Esq., hath Right of presentation."

UTTLESFORD HUNDRED.

WALDEN.

[Vicarage presentative. House, six acres and tithes, and pension of £14 paid by James, Earl of Suffolk ; total, £49. Present incumbent, Mr. John Benfield, an able divine. Patron, James, Earl of Suffolk.]

WIDDINGTON.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value £97. Present Incumbent, Mr. Nicholas Searle, an able preaching minister. Patron, Mr. Edmond Turner.]

DEBDEN.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value £206. Present Incumbent, Mr. Hugh Glover, a godly and able divine, put in by the Parliament about six years since, the living being sequestered from Dr. Thomas Wilson. Patron, James, Earl of Suffolk.]

WICKEN BONNETT.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, total value

£80. Present Incumbent, Mr. Theophilus Aylmer. Patron, Mr. Francis Bradbury.]

NEWPORT.

" Vicarage presentative, to which belongeth a little house
 " and one roode of ground with several Tythes, together with a
 " Donative or gift of fortye shillings a yeare given by John
 " Bucklye to the Vicarage for ever ; all which wee finde to be worth
 " eighteen pounds per Ann. There is no minister in this place ;
 " the lyving is so small that no man will accept thereof. The
 " State hath Right of presentation."

ARKSDEN.

[Vicarage presentative ; house, glebe and tithes, total value £50.
 Incumbent, Mr. Robert Peaps, a preaching minister. Patron,
 Richard Cutts, Esq.]

RICKLING.

Vicarage presentative ; house, glebe (20 acres) and small
 tithes, total value £28. " There is noe settled minister in this
 " Parish, nor hath beene these seaven yeares and upwards, the
 " lyving being so small that noe man will accept thereof. The
 " Parishioners doe humbly praye that there may be some able
 " minister settled amongst them, the right of presentation being
 " now in the State and was formerly in the Bishop of London.
 " The church belnging to this parish is very much decayed, and
 " unless some order be speedily taken to cause the inhabitants to
 " repaire the same it will suddainely fall to ruine and be out of
 " use. The parsonage of this towne is holden by lease made by the
 " Deane and Chapter of Pauls, London, to Thomas Michell for the
 " tearme of twelve yeares yett to come under the rent of twelve
 " pounds tenn shillings, which rent is now paid to Mr. Noell, Re-
 " ceiver-generall of these Rents belonging to that place ; and were
 " this parsonage now to be lett it were worth ffoure score pounds
 " per Ann."

STRETHALL.

[Parsonage presentative, value £42.] " besides ffive pounds
 " six shillings and eight pence due and payed out of certeine mes-
 " suages lying in Bucklers burye, London ; which rent hath been
 " deteyned by the owners of the said messuages for the space
 " of twelve yeares last past." Incumbent, Mr. John Hammond, a
 preaching minister. Patron, Mr. Robert Newporte.]

ELMDON.

[Vicarage presentative. £68. Incumbent, Mr. William Pryme, an able divine. Patron, Mr. Nicholas Pening of London, merchant.]

TAKELYE.

[Vicarage presentative. House and tithes, £30. Also £50 added by Committee for Plundered Ministers out of parsonages of Takeley and Wymbish. Incumbent, Mr. Steven Rich, put in by the Parliament in 1648; an able preaching divine*. Former Patron, the Bishop of London.] “The Parsonage of this towne is holden “by Lease made to Mrs. Ellen Gainsford by the Bishop of London “for the tearme of one and twentye yeares from the second of “December in the seaventeenth yeare of the Reigne of the late “King, under the yearely Rent of eleaven pounds per Ann., but “worth one hundred pounds per Ann.”

STANSTED.

[Vicarage presentative. House and tithes, £50. Incumbent, Mr. Robert Abbott, a preaching minister. Patron, Timothy Middleton, Esq.]

HENHAM.

[Vicarage presentative. House and tithes, £46. Incumbent, Mr. Adyell Baynard, a preaching minister. Patron, Sir Alexander Radcliffe.]

WENDON LOFTS.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, £46. Incumbent, Mr. Bartholomew Mountford, an able preacher. Patron, Thomas Meade, Esq.]

CRESHALL.

[Vicarage presentative. House, glebe (4 acres) and tithes, £26; pension of £1 6s. 8d. from the College of Westminster “which “Pension hath beene deteyned for one year last past.” Incumbent, Mr. John Griffin, an able preacher. Former Patron, the Bishop of London.]

HEYDON.

[Parsonage presentative. House, 38 acres of glebe, and tithes, total £80. Incumbent, Dr. Young, an able preacher. Patron, Peter Soames, Esq.]

QUENDON.

[Parsonage presentative. House, 30 acres of glebe, and tithes; in all £40. Incumbent, Mr. John Dennison, a preaching minister. Patron, Samuel Gibbs, Esq.]

* Lansd: “minister.”

CHISSELL MAGNA.

"Wee present that in this parish is a Viccarage presentative, " which wee finde to be worth thirty two pounds per An., besides " fflowre quarters of Wheate, fflowre quarters of Barley, fflowre " quarters of Oates, and ffortye shillings in Monye yearely paid " to this Viccarage out of the Impropriation of this Towne. This " Viccarage stands sequestered from Mr. Thomas King, who was " the last Incumbent, and now there is noe settled minister in " his place, the ffaulte being in three of the parishioners who were " appointed sequestrators or to provide a minister to supply " and serve the cure (vizt) Thomas Hagggar, John Hoyer and John " Granvell, who have received the proffitts for several years past. " The Parish of Nethèr Chissell wee find may very conveniently " be joynd and conveyed to the parish of Upper Chissell and soe " be but one congregation ; our reason is because most of the houses " belonging to Neather Chissell are very neare adjoyning to the " church of Upper Chissell ; and then the lyving whilbe a very " competent and sufficient maintenance for an able minister. And " both parishes are very well contented therewith."

CHISSELL PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. House, 100 acres of glebe in the common field, and several tithes ; total value £85. Incumbent, Mr. James Willett, a preaching minister. Patron, Thomas Ayliffe, Esq.]

LITTLEBURY.

[Vicarage presentative. House, four acres of glebe, and tithes ; total, £24. Parliament add a stipend of £30, out of the parsonage of this parish.] " There is no settled minister in this place ; Michael " Dryver and John Reymond were appointed sequestrators to " provide for the serving of the Cure, which two men receive all " the proffitts ; butt what Sallarye they doe allowe the severall " ministers which they hyer wee knowe nott. Butt wee conceive " it very requisite to have an able divine settled amongst them, " it being a great towne consisting of manye ffamelyes. Mr. Henry " Tucker was the last incumbent, who was sequestred. Dr. Greene " had the right of presentation."

WENDEN MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. Value, £13 6s. 4d. " besides a Pension " or Donative of £4 6s. 8d. paid by James, Earl of Suffolk." Incumbent, Mr. John Warren, an able divine.] " The towne of " Wenden Parva doth lye very conveniently to be joynd and

“annexed to the church of Wenden Magna, there being butt eleven
 “houses in Wenden Parva, and lyeth in the midst of Wenden
 “Magna, and the churches not being above a quarter of a myle
 “distant the one from the other, and the parishioners of both
 “places being desirous to have them united. James, Earle of
 “Suffolk, hath right of presentation, who presented the said Mr.
 “Warren to both churches.”

WENDEN PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative; £32, viz., house and glebe £10; tithe
 £22. Incumbent, Mr. John Warren. Patron, James, Earl of
 Suffolk.]

WIMBISH.

“Wee present that in this Parish is a parsonage donative
 “and a viccarage presentative for the cure of soules. The pro-
 “ffitts belonging to this viccarage wee finde to be worth one hundred
 “and three pounds per Ann. (vizt.) the house and gleabe lands
 “att ffive pounds per Ann. and the small tythes att fflowre score
 “and eighteen pounds per Ann. Mr. Rowland Greenwood
 “is the present Incumbent, serveth the Cure and receiveth the
 “proffitts, and is an able preaching minister; butt in whome
 “the Right of presentation is wee cannot informe ourselves. The
 “parsonage of the towne being a Donative and worth one hundred
 “pounds per An. was given to one Doctor Willson who standeth
 “now sequestred, by which means the rent of this Parsonage is now
 “paid to Mr. John Mond* [?] and other sequestrators for this
 “Countie of Essex. The donation of this parsonage after the
 “death of Doctor Willson is in John Currance of London, Esq.”

BIRCHANGER.

[Parsonage presentative. House and 26 acres of glebe, £16;
 tithes, £25 10s.; total, £41 10s. Incumbent, Mr. William Parsons,
 a preaching minister. Patrons, the Master and Fellows of New
 College in Oxford.]

CHESTERFORD MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. House, small parcel of glebe, and
 tithes, and a pension of £13 6s. 8d. paid by James, Earl of Suffolk;
 total, £27 6s. 8d. Incumbent, Mr. William Coe, a preaching
 minister. Patron, James, Earl of Suffolk.]

* Lansd: “Man.”

CHESTERFORD PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. House, glebe and tithes, £90, viz., house and glebe £24, tithes £66. Incumbent, Mr. John Houghton. Patron, James, Earl of Suffolk.]

ELSENHAM.

[Vicarage presentative. House, 28 acres of glebe, and tithes, total £46. Also an augmentation of £50 granted out of "Much Dunmowe parsonage"; total £96. Incumbent, Mr. George Willson, an able preaching divine. Patron, Mr. Thomas Weaver.]

FRESHWELL HUNDRED.

SAMFORD MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. Two cottages, but no vicarage house fit for the minister to live in; sixteen acres of glebe, and tithes; total £55. Incumbent, Mr. Samuel Newton, an able divine. Patron, Elyab Harvy of London, Esq.] "Wee likewise present that the Chappell of Hempsted hath been reputed to belong to this church of Samford, butt whether it doth or noe wee knowe not. Wee finde that it standeth two myles distant from the church of Sampford, and is a large church and hath a great congregation belonging thereunto; and divers of the biggest ffarmes are distant from the church of Sampford neare ffowre myles. And, therefore we thincke it very requisite and necessarye that Hempsted were made a parish of itselfe, having a pretye competent maintenance for a minister belonging thereunto. The Parsonage of this towne is holden by Lease made unto Robert Smith by the Deane and Chapter of Canterbury for the tearme of one and twentye yeares from the ffest of St. Michael the Archangell one thousand six hundred thirtye and ffive. And that there is payed for the same the yearely Rent of Tenn pounds to Mr. Thomas Sheareman at the boares head in Pater Noster Rowe in London, who is appointed by the Trustees to be Receiver generall of all the Rents belonging to the church of Canterbury. There is belonging to the Parsonage a very good house, one hundred acres of gleabe lands, with the Tythes of hay and corne, which, were the same now to be lett, it were worth one hundred pounds per Ann."

HEMPSTED.

[Vicarage presentative; two acres of glebe and several tithes, £75.] "Mr. Samuell Newton who is likewise Vicar of Sampford receiveth the proffitts belonging to this Vicarage and placeth a

“Curate here whose name is Thomas Ellis, and alloweth him for
 “his Sallarye ffortye pounds per Ann. Elyab Harvyne of London
 “Esq. hath right of presentation to this Viccarage. Wee finde that
 “this is very ffitt to be made a parish of itselfe. The parsonage
 “of this towne is holden by Lease made to Robert Mordant of
 “Hempsted Esq. by the Deane and Chapiter of Canterbury for
 “the Tearme of Nynetye Nyne yeares under the yearely rent of
 “eight pounds six shillings and eight pence. The rent is payed
 “to Mr. Sheareman as is mentioned before in Sampford Magna.
 “This Lease doth expire in one thousand six hundred sixtie seven.
 “There is belonging to this Parsonage a house, six and ffortye acres
 “of Gleabe Land, with the tythes of hay and corne; and were the
 “same now to be lett, it were worth ffowre score pounds per Ann.”

SAMPFORD PARVA.

[Both Parsonage and Vicarage presentative. Parsonage and vicarage houses, 40 acres of glebe, with both tithes; total value, £150. Incumbent, Mr. Isaack Penington, put in by the Parliament June 4, 1644; a preaching minister. He pays the wife of Jegon Webster, from whom it was sequestered, a fifth part. Former Patron, Edward Greene of Sampford, Esq.; “whether it be now
 “in him or noe wee know not neyther can wee learne.”]

BARDFEILD MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. House and tithe, £40.] “Mr. John
 “Packingham was presented to this viccarage, butt he doth not
 “officiate himself butt hath putt in one Mr. John Mowe to whom
 “he hath made a Lease for one and twentye yeares, whereof tenn
 “years are expired. Whatt rent he hath reserved upon this
 “Lease wee knowe not. Edward Benlowes, Esq. hath Right of
 “presentation.”

BARDFEILD PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. House, 40 acres of glebe and tithes, total value £90. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Lunn, an able preaching minister. Patron, Mr. Thomas Wale.]

BARDFEILD SALING.

“ Donative, which is allowed in severall small tythes,
 “to the value of twentye ffive pounds per Ann. Mr. Samuell Hall
 “serveth the Cure, who is an able preacher. And Edward Benlowes
 “Esq. hath the disposition thereof.”

RADWINTER.

[Both parsonage and vicarage presentative. The two houses, 60 acres of glebe, meadow and pasture, and both tithes, total value £135. "besides one acre of wheate, one acre of oates, one pigge, " one goose and three shillings and ffoure pence in monye yearely " paid out of Bendish Hall in lieu of all tythes." Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Renolds, a preaching minister, put in by the Parliament in 1646, the church being sequestered from Mr. Richard Drake. Joint Patrons, Sir Thomas Fisher, Baronet, and Mrs. Anne Prescott.]

ASHDON.

[Parsonage presentative. A very fair house, 36 acres of glebe, and several tithes, also "some ffree and customarye rents belonging to the same, as it is a Lordship"; total value £160. Incumbent, Dr. Samuell Johnson, an able Divine. "There is a " hamlett in this towne and countye consisting of eighteen ffamelyes, " which doe belong to the church of Bartlowe in the countye of " Cambridge and doe there pay their tythes: butt wee finde that " sixteene of these houses doe lye much more convenient for " this church of Ashdon in the Countye of Essex than for the church " of Bartlowe in the Countie of Cambridge. Mr. Nicholas Hearne " of London hath Right of presentation."

HADSTOCK.

[Parsonage presentative. House, 60 acres of glebe, and several tithes: total yearly value £106. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Wallis, a preaching minister, put in by the Parliament in 1645, the church being then sequestered. Patron, the Bishop of Ely for the time being.]

BUMSTEDD HELLION.

[Vicarage presentative. House, two acres of glebe, and tithes; total £40. Incumbent, Mr. Theodore Cole, an able divine. Patron, Mrs. Elizabeth Tallkearne.*]

CLAVERING HUNDRED.

FARNEHAM.

[Parsonage presentative. House, 24 acres of glebe, and tithes; total value £130. Incumbent, Mr. Gyles Archer, an able preaching minister. Patron, Mr. Edward Hobarte.]

* Lansd: Tallokerne.

MALENDINE.

[Vicarage presentative. House, three acres of glebe, tithes, and a pension of £6 paid out of the Exchequer ; total value £30.] “ This
 “ Viccarage is sequestred and the Parishioners doe hyer Mr. Paul
 “ Clement, who is an able preacher, to serve the cure, and for his
 “ sallarye doe allowe him tenn shillings a weeke in lieu of the Tythes.
 “ Mr. George James hath Right of presentation.”

UGLEY.

[Vicarage presentative. House, two acres of glebe, tithes, and pension of £10 paid by the Governors of “ Christes Hospital, London ” ; total, £31. Incumbent, Mr. John Lucas, an able preaching minister. Patrons, the Governors of Christ's Hospital.]

BEARDEN.

“ Wee present that in this Parish is a church and Priorye which
 “ doth belong to Christs hospital, London. And that there is noe
 “ minister presented to the same, butt the Governors of the hos-
 “ pitall doth bind the Tenant that holdeth the Lease of the tythes
 “ to paye unto a preaching minister the sum of ffortye pounds per
 “ Ann. Mr. John Wayte who is an able divine doth serve the cure,
 “ and is appointed so to doe by Mr. Thompson whoe ffarmes the
 “ Tythes ; but what Sallarye he alloweth him for his paynes, wee
 “ know not neyther can we learn.”

CLAVERING.

[Vicarage presentative ; house, 29 acres of glebe, and tithes ; worth in all £130. Incumbent, Mr. John Moore, an able preacher.]
 “ The Chappell of Langley doth belong to this church and is for the
 “ present supplied by Mr. Richard Southey, and by the order
 “ and appointment of Mr. John Moore, who doth allow him weekly
 “ for his sallarye the sum of six shillings and eight pence, with
 “ this Agreement, that if the tithes belonging to the said chappell
 “ be more worth, then Mr. Southey is to have more Allowance.
 “ And wee thincke it necessarye that this chappell should be con-
 “ tinued, being distant from the church above two Myles. The
 “ Governors of Christs hospital have right of presentation.”

“ We have very carefully and diligently examined the several
 “ Articles given us in charge, and likewise viewed and considered
 “ the Acte of Parliamt bearing date the eight of June, 1649.
 “ And to the best of our knowledge there is not anything within
 “ these hundreds committed to our charge needefull or necessary

“ for us to present more than what wee have herein presented ; and
 “ what we have herein presented is according to such Information
 “ as was given in unto us.”

[No signatures of Jurors in this division, though the parchment at the P.R.O. is cut for them. What follows in the Lambeth MS. is the signatures of the County Committee or the like, affecting the whole.]

In this division several vacant livings are noted : Newport, Rickling, Great Chishall, Littlebury.

It is proposed to unite Great and Little Wenden ; Upper and Nether Chishall ; to put most of Bartlow hamlet into Ashdon ; to join Willingale Spain and Shellow Bowells. Langley Chapel is to be retained ; Hempsted Chapel to be made the church of a separate parish ; but the outlying chapel in Great Dunmow is of no use. The former chapel in Margaret Roothing is fallen down and out of use.

Sequestrations are noticed at Thaxted, Chickney, Great Canfield, Mashbury, Littlebury, Great Chishall, Debden, Little Sampford, Radwinter. “ Fifths ” are paid at Chickney and Little Sampford.

James, Earl of Suffolk, is Patron of a number of livings. Christ's Hospital has a few.

There are long accounts of some parishes ; e.g., Thaxted, Mashbury, High Easter, Pleshey, Great Dunmow, Rickling (where the church is in very bad condition), Takeley, Great Chishall, Littlebury, and the Wendens ; Great Sampford and Hempsted ; Clavering and Langley.

For the hundreds of Hinckford and Witham the Inquisition was held at the Cock, Braintree, Sept. 16, 1650. The Commissioners were Sir Thomas Honywood, Knt, Thomas Cooke, Arthur Barnardiston, Jeremiah Aylett, Isaack Wincoll, and William Harlackenden, Esquires.

The Jurors were :

“ Martin Sparrowe of Birdbrook, gent., Anthony Benthall of Halsted, gent., William Butcher of Hedingham Sible, gent., William Harrington of Hedingham Castle, gent., Bartholomew Wall of Middleton, gent., Richard Harrington of finchingfield, gent., John Sorrell of Stebbing, gent., John Andrewes of the same, Thomas Clopton of Liston, Esqr., Daniell Wade of Birdbrook, gent., William Edwards of Topsfeild, gent., Thomas Chaplein of Belchamp Otten, Robert Aylett of Brayntree, gent., Adryan Mott of the same, Ed-

ward ffevilian (?) of Belchamp St. Paul, John Isaacke of ffoxearth, William Harrington of Great Maplested, Solomon Clarke of Lamarste John Scott of Belchamp Water, John Scott of Gosfeild, Thomas Sewell of Henney Magna, Thomas Plum of Great Yeildham, Richard Daye of Pebmarste, Matthew Buttcher of Hedingham Castle, Robert Purcas of Great Yeildham, William Skinner of Bocking, John Currey of Wethersfeild, Robert Leck of Belchamp Otten, Samuell Wall of Witham, Robert Garrard of the same, ffrancis Tavernor of Terling, Edward Raynor of the same, John Elliston of Little Coggeshall, William Aylett of Great Braxted, William Simpson of Pebmarste, William Allen of Wytham, John Aylett of Kelvedon and Henry Merryton of Pebmarste, gent."

TILBURY [by Clare].

[Parsonage presentative. Present incumbent, John Clarke, an able godly preaching minister. Patron, Lady Mary Vere. House and about 16 acres of Glebe, and tithes, £55.]

BRAINTREE.

[Vicarage presentative. Present incumbent, Samuel Collins, an able godly preaching minister, presented by the Earl of Warwick, patron. House, garden, orchard, churchyard, and two acres and a half a rood of glebe, and small tithes ; total value £45.]

OVINGTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Present incumbent, Peter St. Hill, presented by Horace, Lord Vere, deceased, late patron ; an able godly preaching minister. Glebe, £14 ; tithes, £36.] "And
"there are lykewise certeine gleabe lands lying within Albrite
"belonging to the said parsonage of the value of Nyneteen or
"twenty pounds per Ann, and the small Tythes arysing within
"that place of the Annuall value of Tenn pounds or thereabouts, in
"all amounting to ffoure Score pounds per Ann."

STEBBING.

[Vicarage. Incumbent, Samuell Alsworth, an able and godly preacher, presented by John Sorrell, Gent., Patron. House, garden, orchard, two acres of glebe and certain tithes, £65.]
"Within the said parish there is butt one church and no chappel."

WETHERSFEILD.

[Parsonage without cure of souls ; possessor Mr. Martin Neale*, by lease from the Bishop of London. Messuage with appurtenances,

* Lansd : Noell.

50 acres of glebe, and tithes, in all worth £150, "but when the lease did begin or when it end they knowe not." Also vicarage presentative:—Incumbent, Daniel Weld, presented by Trinity Hall, Cambridge; an able and godly preaching minister. Vicarage and tithes, £60.] "There is within the said parish a Chappell which hath beene out of use tyme out of minde, unto which there is noe tythes belonging."

FEELSTED.

[Vicarage. Incumbent, Nathaniell Renewe, an able and godly preaching minister. Patron, the Earl of Warwick. Messuage with appurtenances and certain tithes, in all £70. A parsonage impropriate belonging to the Earl of Warwick.]

RAYNE PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Roger Halton, a preaching minister, presented by the late Lord Capell; Lady Capell now Patron. Glebe, 20 acres, and tithes; total £85.]

FINCHINGFIELD.

[Parsonage; possessor, Sir Robert Kemp by lease from the Earl of Arundel for seven years yet to come; this with 50 acres of glebe is worth about £190. Vicarage: Incumbent, Stephen Marshall, an able godly preaching minister. Patron, Sir Robert Kemp. Value £160 including house and yards thereto belonging.] "The said parish is of so large extent that there are severall parishioners which lyve neare upon three myles from their Church, neare abutting to Birdbrooke and Ridgewell, whoe are neare two myles from their church and soe many ffamelies there that would make a competent congregation and are fitt to have a church or chappell erected."

PANFEILD.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, John Gilpill, an able godly preaching minister, presented by the Committee of Plundered Ministers; but John Durden, clerk, is Patron. House with appurtenances and six acres, and tithes, £80.]

SHALFORD.

[Parsonage impropriate belonging to Dr. Hinton. Also Vicarage; possessor, Giles Firmin, by virtue of order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers, "the Right of Presentation being in Doctor Hinton, whoe since his composition alloweth of him." House, orchard, the benefit of the churchyard, and

small tithes, £45.* Mr. Firmin is an able and godly preacher.]
 “And allsoe wee find by an Olde Wryting it appears that the
 “said Parsonage paid to the Vicarage ffoure marks per Ann.
 “which hath beene with-held tyme out of minde from him.”

GOSFEILD.

[Parsonage impropriate, of which Lord Dacre is seized ; and Vicarage, to which he presents. Parsonage £40, besides some tithes ; Vicarage, house, yard, the small tithes and other duties, total £40. Mr. John Cross was incumbent, but being sequestered William Smithyes, clerk, was presented in his room—an able preaching and godly minister. He pays Mr. Cross £8 as a fifth part.]

TOPSFEILD.

[Parsonage. Possessor, John Overed, clerk, an able godly preacher. A messuage with appurtenances, eighteen acres of glebe, and tithes—total value £140.] “The presentation to the
 “said lyving was in the late King . . . Mr. Overed’s Tytle
 “is from the Parliament under the Great Seale.”

STISTED.

[Parsonage. “The right of presentation was in the late King,
 “whoe presented Christopher Newsted, clerk, who being sequestred,
 “the Committee for Plundered Ministers putt into the Cure one
 “Mr. Clarke,” an able godly divine. Messuage, tenement, and
 about 120 acres of land, meadow and pasture, and tithes—total
 value £130. Clarke pays Newsted £20 for a fifth part.]

SALING MAGNA.

[Parsonage ; proprietor, Mildred Maxey, widow ; £105. Vicarage, tithe, £37 ; incumbent, George Crackenthorpe. Patron, Mrs. Mildred Maxey. Crackenthorpe is “a constant† preaching minister.”]

BOCKING.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Dr. John Gaudye [*sic*] by presentation from the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Patron. Tithe, £200 ; house, garden, orchard and 60 acres of glebe, £30. Dr. Gauden [*sic*] is an able orthodox and godly preaching minister.]

* Lansd: adds, “£40 Augmentation by order of Committee for Regulating the Universities.”

† Lansd: only.

HEDINGHAM SIBLE.

[Parsonage. Messuage and 43 acres £25; tithe £180; total £205.] “John Jegon, Clerke . . . is seized thereof to him and his heires males, and doth sometymes performe the Cure himselfe and some tymes by others. And that the said parsonage is not supplied with an able godly preaching minister.”

YEILDHAM MAGNA.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, Richard Moseley, an orthodox and able preacher, by pres. of Samuel Plume, gent, Patron. House with thirty acres of glebe, £25; tithe, £85; total £110.]

YEILDHAM PARVA.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, Robert Chadsley, conceived to be an able godly minister. House and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres glebe, £4; tithes, £44.]

LAMARSH.

[Parsonage. Patron, Mr. John Smith; Incumbent, Mr. Sidey. Parsonage, glebe and tithes, £92 2s. 6d.] “besides some other lands of the value of which wee cannot be informed. And that the said Mr. Sidey performs the cure himself, and by the assistance of Mr. Martin by his Appointment, and that the said Mr. Sidey and Mr. Martin are able orthodox divines.”

MAPLESTED MAGNA.

[Parsonage impropriate; owner, James Harrington; value £79.* Also vicarage; Incumbent, Edward Sheppard “by purchase of an Estate thereof in ffee to him and to his heires of James Harrington and Thomas Alston.” Tithes, about £50; house and glebe ($1\frac{1}{2}$ acres) “and the ffeede of the churchyard there lette for three pounds per Ann. and a pention of Corne and Monye Issuing out of the parsonage, valued at £12 10s.” William Hicks supplies the cure by the choice of the parish, who farm the tithes of Mr. Sheppard, paying him £20, and Mr. Hicks for his care and pains £50. He is a godly able preacher.]

TWINSTED.

[Parsonage. House and glebe, £8; tithes, £37.† Incumbent, Mr. Griffith, by presentation and confirmation under the Great Seal, the Patronage being heretofore in the Crown. Mr. ffitch serves the cure, enjoying the parsonage glebe and tithes, and is a godly able preaching minister.]

* Lansd. only; sum blank in Lamb.

† Lansd. gives total £40.

BUERS.

“That within the Hamlett of Buers there is one Parsonage “Improprate, and the Viccarage belonging to the hamlett lyeth “out of the Countye and Hundred.” [Glebe, £59 6s. 8d., tithes in Hundred of Hinckford, £10; in all £69 6s. 8d.] “which are in the “possession of John Sidey and his Assignes.” [Lands belonging to the vicarage within the Hamlet are worth £7 6s. 8d.; total with the tithes, £30.]

The maintenance is paid “to the minister from Buers on Suffolk side.” “Bryan Smith, clerk, being formerly minister “there and being sequestred, the parishioners made choice of “Mr. John Poynter who hath ever since performed the cure as “Incumbent there, and is an able godly* preacher. . . . Their “parish church standeth out of the Countye, butt convenient for “the Inhabitants.” [Patron, Mr. John Sideye.]

HEDINGHAM CASTLE.

[Parsonage Improprate. £80; owner, the Earl of Elgen. Also Vicarage Donative; Incumbent, Edmond Bruer, an able godly preaching minister; by gift from the late Earl of Oxford. Value £50.]

BULLMER.

[Parsonage Improprate, value £100; belonging to “Nicholas Daniell, gent., who being a Recusant is sequestered.” Also Vicarage worth £5, “besides Composition Corne allowed by the Parson to the Viccar, as six quarters of wheat, six quarters of barlye, one quarter of pease, one quarter of oates, one pound in monye, and two loades of strawe, valued att eighteen pounds per Ann.” Total profits of vicarage £39. The Incumbent is allowed by the Parliament out of the Parsonage £25 per Ann, but does not receive above £16. Incumbent, John Chamberlain, an able preaching minister; “presented by Thomas Bayles, Esq., and inducted by order of the House of Parliament.”]

PEBMARSH.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, Thomas Burroughes: Glebe £10; tithes £75. Mr. Burroughes is an able and godly preaching minister. Patron, Mrs. Katharine Manning.]

PAULES WICKHAM.

[Parsonage, £58. Incumbent, Thomas Dersley, an able godly preaching minister. The right of presentation was formerly in the Dean of “Paules.”]

* “orthodox divine.” Lansd.

ALPHAMSTON.

[Parsonage. Parsonage and glebe £8; tithes £57. "The late King did present unto the said Lyving one Rowland Stuard, who being sequestred William Smith Clerk is present Incumbent . . . an able godly preaching minister; paying to Rowland Stuart £14 per Ann.]

HENNYE MAGNA.

[Parsonage; glebe £30, tithes £45; total £75. Incumbentt Stephen Payne "who serveth the cure and preacheth well, but, his life and conversation doth not answeare his Doctrine, butt is Scandalous." Patron, Mrs. Manninge.]

HENNY PARVA.

[Parsonage, tithes and glebe worth £20 per Ann] "butt noe parish church, the same being ffalne downe, nor noe Incumbent there, butt the Tythes are paid to the Parson of All Hallowes in Sudburye, but John Eden, Esq. hath Right of presentation . . . but wee conceive it fitt that both the Hennyes be joyned together."

GESTINGTHORP.

[Parsonage appropriate; Vicarage presentative. Parsonage tithe and glebe, £120; possessor, William Berman, Clerk, presented by John Sparrow, Esq., patron. Vicarage composition tithes and glebe, about £45; incumbent, John Tharby, clerk, an able godly preacher, by presentation from the said parson.] "The parish is not of soe large an extent butt all may repaire to their said church except the widow Parkes and the Tenants of Mr. Cooke's ffarme and the Towne house, which may be united to Pebmarsh and Wickham."

BALLINGDON CUM BRUNDON.

"That within the said Parish there is neyther Parsonage nor "Vicarage, butt the said parish belongs to the viccarage of All "Sts. in Sudburye, and the small Tythes amount to Six pounds "odde monye per Ann.; butt in Brundon one Mr. Smith, an able "man, preacheth quarterly in the chappell by the appointment "of Thomas Windham, Esq., and is allowed by the said Mr. "Windham Twenty markes per Ann. for his paynes."

MAPLESTED PARVA.

. . . "There is a Parsonage which is a Donative, and the "Ladye Elizabeth Wiseman is possessed thereof of an Estate of

“ Inheritance to her heires. And that to the said Donative the
 “ cure of soules is annexed, and the true small tythes of the
 “ said Donative, the hall and all being valued which
 “ never paid Tythe, are worth ffortie two pounds twelve
 “ shillings. And that to the said Donative there is belonging
 “ neyther messuage lands nor tenements. And that Christopher
 “ Webb,* clerk, supplyeth the cure and preacheth twice every
 “ Lord’s day ; for which the said Ladye allows him a stipend of
 “ thirtye pounds per Ann., whereof twentye was the antient allow-
 “ ance of the curate and the other tenn pounds is a ffree gift.
 “ And that the said parish may conveniently be united to Peb-
 “ marsh and Great Maplestead.”

MIDDLETON.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, Richard Goulding, by authority of Parliament. House, glebe (33 acres) and tithes, £45. For Goulding’s abilities and godliness they can say nothing.] Patron, Nicholas Bacon, Knight and Baronet.†

BELCHAMP WATER.

[Parsonage, to which Cure of soules is not annexed ; one messuage, about 80 acres of glebe, pasture and wood, and tithes of corn “ worth in all to be letten ” £140. Vicarage, messuage and appurtenances ; small tithes, worth £20. Incumbent, John ffermyn, an able and godly preaching minister ; patron, Oliver Raymond, Esq.]

PAULES BELCHAMP.

. . . . “ Parsonage impropriate, formerly belonging to
 “ the Deane of Paules, and about ffourescore and ffive yeares since
 “ by him demised to Sr. Thomas Golding for nynetye nyne yeares,
 “ the which Lease beares date the fifteenth of Maye one thousand
 “ five hundred sixtie and ffoure. And that to the said Parsonage
 “ there belongs a house called Woodbarnes with a garden orchard
 “ and outhouses, and severall parcells of gleabe, being land, meadow,
 “ pasture, and wood, conteyning two hundred and fforty acres,
 “ and all tythe corne, being in all one hundred thirtye ffive pounds
 “ per Ann., the which Mrs. Elizabeth de la ffountaine by vertue
 “ of the said Lease and meane assignments injoyeth. And that
 “ to the said Viccarage there is one viccarage house with the
 “ Appurtenances which with thirtye seaven acres three roods and

* Sequestered from Sawbridgeworth.

† Lansd. only.

“ thirtye poles of Gleabe Land is worth ffoureteene pounds per
 “ Ann., and the small tythes *Communibus Annis* worth tenn pounds
 “ per Ann., and twelve pounds per Ann. issuing out of the said
 “ Parsonage by the said Lease to Sir Thomas Goulding, and is
 “ to continue onely during the said Lease, which is for the present
 “ in all worth Thirty* pounds per Ann. That Mr. Robert ffisher
 “ is present Incumbent thereof and performes the cure and receives
 “ the said Viccarage proffitts and is an able godly preaching
 “ minister. And Mrs. De La ffountaine during the continuance
 “ of the said Lease is Patroness.”

BORLEY.

“ That within the Towne of Borley there is a Parsonage pre-
 “ sentative with the cure of soules annexed, and that the said
 “ Parsonage was heretofore by the Bishop, Patron, and Incumbent
 “ conveyed by a Lease for ffowerscore and nyneteene yeares to
 “ William Cordwell, Esq., and by him assigned to Sr. Edward
 “ Walgrave, and that John Walgrave, Esq., is now Proprietor
 “ thereof, but what tearme is to come in the said Lease they
 “ cannot be informed. And that the true yearely value of the
 “ said Parsonage one yeare with another is not above ffortye
 “ ffive or ffiftye pounds. And that John Deeks, clerk, doth serve
 “ the cure of the church there by order from the Parliament upon
 “ a sequestration and hath for his paines the proffitts of the said
 “ Parsonage and Tithes ; and that the said Mr. Deeks is a minister
 “ of that abillitye that he was approved of by the Assembly of
 “ Divines upon examination. And that the right of presentation
 “ to the said church is in John Walgrave, Esq. And further
 “ that the little Chappell of Brundon, unto which there belong
 “ butt two houses, which the inhabitants desire may be annexed
 “ to the parish, it lying convenient.”

STURNER [*sic*.]

[Parsonage. Incumbent, Nicholas Gent, a preaching minister,
 presented by Radcliffe Tedd,† gent. Messuage, appurtenances,
 glebe (15 acres) and tithe, total £46.]

BUMSTED AD TURREM [*sic*.]

“ That within the said parish of Bumsted att the tower there
 “ is one Parsonage to which noe cure of soules is annexed ; and
 “ that there allso belongeth to the same one messuage and about

* Lansdowne gives total value £36.

† Lansd. “ Teed.”

“ thirty acres of land and the tithes of corne enjoined and taken
 “ by Sr. Thomas Bendish and his assignes by vertue of a lease
 “ from the Deane and Chapter of Paules att the yearely Rente of
 “ twelve pounds which is to be paid [*sic*] at Michs one thousand
 “ six hundred ffiftye and seaven, and the which are worth nyntie
 “ pounds per Ann. And there is allso one viccarage with cure of
 “ soules annexed, unto which viccarage there belongs one messuage
 “ two acres of land and the small tithes, worth in all ffoure score
 “ pounds per Ann. And that within the said parish there is noe
 “ settled minister, occasioned by the death of their last incumbent ;
 “ butt the parishioners have hyred a preacher every Lord’s daye
 “ at the rate of twentye shillings per diem, of the which they
 “ crave allowance out of their tythes. The right of presentation
 “ is in the Lords Commissioners (for the Seale).*

LISTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, James Lumlye, clerk, an able and godly preaching minister, presented by Thomas Clopton, Esq. Glebe (22 acres) £16 ; tithes, “ some few Customes excepted,” £36.]

FOXHEARTH.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, John ffermyn, clerk, an able godly preaching minister. House and 20 acres of land, £10 ; tithes (of all the parish except Broke hall†) £50. Patrons, Sir Edmond Bacon’s heirs. “ The said Broke Hall pays tithe to Bury St. Edmond for charitable uses, which the parish did desire might be added to this parish.”

STAMBORNE.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, Mr. John Paynell, “ by grant made to him in King James his tyme during his life ” ; an able godly preaching minister. Glebe (30 acres) and tithes, £94.] [Patron, the late King.‡]

REDGEWELL.

[Parsonage without cure of souls. One barn, 30 acres of land and pastures, tithes of corn and hay.] “ Injoyed by John Hills, “ Gent, by vertue of a lease for three lyves from Katharine Hall “ in Cambridge at the yearely rent in corne and monye of ffowre “ and twenty pounds, and ffortye shillings yearely to the Viccarage

* Lansd. only.

† Lansd. “ Brokenhall.”

‡ Lansd. only.

“ of Redgewell aforesaid, and ffive shillings to the Colledge of
 “ Stoake in Com. Suffolk, and is worth sixtie pounds per Ann.
 “ And that there is allso within the said parish one viccarage
 “ with cure of soules annexed, and that Ralph Hills, clerke, an
 “ able godly preaching minstre, is Viccar thereof by presentation
 “ from Katharine Hall in Cambridge aforesaid. Unto which
 “ viccarage there belongs one messuage, seaven acres of land and
 “ pasture and the small tythes, and are injoyed by the said Ralph
 “ Hills, worth flouwer and twenty pounds per Ann; and doth
 “ performe the cure thereof himself. And that there is nyne
 “ ffamelyes lying in Endwards within the said parish three myles
 “ from the said parish church, very fitt to be joyned with part
 “ of minchingfield and part of Birdbrook called Halsted Greene,
 “ which together would make a competent parish.”

PENTLOWE.

[Parsonage.] “ Edward Ashton* [*sic*] was incumbent, but
 “ being sequestred Henry Esday, clerk, was by order from the
 “ Committee of Plundered Ministers to supply the cure. And that
 “ there is a grant made by the said Mr. Alston [*sic*] to Sr. George
 “ Kemp that his ffarme of nyne score pounds per Ann. should
 “ paye for the tythe butt ten pounds per Ann, and thereupon
 “ refuse to pay any more, which is worth twenty pounds per Ann.”
 “ House and 38 acres of glebe £24; tithe £76; total £100.” “ And
 “ that the said Mr. Alston injoyeth the said Parsonage house and
 “ glebe for his ffith parte. And that the said Mr. Esday performeth
 “ the cure and is an able godly preaching minister.”

ASHEN ALS ESSE.

[Parsonage; Incumbent, William Jones, clerk. Glebe and
 tithes, about £85.] “ Mr. Joseph Skynner, clerk, serveth the
 “ cure by choice of the parish and with the consent of the said
 “ Mr. Jones, and doth receive the salarye of about three-score
 “ pounds per Ann. for his paynes. And the right of presentation
 “ to the said lyving was in the late King.”

BELCHAMP OTTEN.

[Parsonage “ of which Joseph Bird was the Incumbent, who
 “ being put out by the Earle of Manchester, Edward Thomas, clerke,
 “ doth now supply the cure.” House, glebe (2 acres) and tithes
 and profits, £70.] “ The proffitts of the said Parsonage have
 “ beene, ever since Mr. Bird was outed, received by the sequestrators,

* Lansd. “ Alston.”

“who pay out to Mr. Thomas ffiftie pounds per Ann. and
 “mainteyne six children of the late Incumbent, and paye out all
 “taxes, which amounts to more than the proffitts of the parsonage.”
 Mr. Thomas is an able godly preaching minister.] “And that
 “within the said parish there was a Chappell called Albrites which
 “being long since down, the minister of Ouenton* receives the
 “tithes and proffitts belonging to the same, which is thirtye pounds
 “per Ann, the place where the said Chappell was being two myles
 from Ouenton.” (Patron, Thomas Smith†).

HALSTED.

[Parsonage impropriate; Sir Samuel Tryon is possessed of it by a lease from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, which expired about eleven years hence; rent reserved, £22 7s. 4d., to Dean, £1 6s. 8d. to Vicarage. Full annual value with glebe and tithe £120. Also a vicarage; Dr. Webb the incumbent being sequestered, William Sparrow, clerk, was ordered to supply the place and cure; he is an able godly preacher. Value of vicarage, £80, out of which the fifth part is to be paid to Dr. Webb. Patrons, Dean and Chapter aforesaid.]

BIRDBROKE.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, John Gent, clerk. House with barns, stables, outhouses; glebe and wood, about 100 acres; tithes; £130 in all. John Gent is an able godly preaching minister. Patron, Francis Gent as heir to the Manor of Birdbrook.] “Some
 “of the inhabitants of the said parish, as namely the inhabitants
 “of Halsted green, doe lyve two myles and half distant from the
 “parish church, who with parte of ffinchingfield Redgewell and
 “Norton will make a convenient congregation.”

WITHAM HALF-HUNDRED.

WITHAM.

[Vicarage. House and 120 acres of glebe, and two houses given by Lady Barnardiston, £65; tithes £35; total £100. Richard Rowles, clerk, supplies the cure—an able godly preacher. Also Parsonage, half an acre of land and the great tithes, granted by lease for three lives from the Bishop of London, £160; enjoyed by Mr. Thomas Gulson.]

* i.e., Ovington.

† Lansd. only.

FFAIRESTED.

[Parsonage ; Incumbent, John Blower, clerk, an able godly preaching minister, presented by the late Bishop of London. House and glebe £30 ; tithes £70 ; total £100.*]

BRAXTED MAGNA.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, Richard Milward, by presentation from the late Earl of Pembroke ; present Patron, the Countess Dowager of Kent. House and glebe £30 ; tithes £60 ; total £90.]
 " The said Mr. Milward serveth the cure and receiveth the proffitts
 " of the said parsonage ; and is a man of civill life and conversaõn,
 " butt for his abillities in preaching and godliness we can say
 " nothing for it. There is also a Mannor or ffarme in the said
 " parish called by the name of the Pryorie or Tiptree, which being
 " of the Cistercian Order payeth no tithes, soe long as it is held
 " by the Owner in occupaõn, butt being lett to a tennant payeth
 " tythes to the parson of the said parish."

BRAXTED PARVA.

[Parsonage. Last Incumbent Robert Whyte, clerk, presented by Thomas Roberts, Esq., still Patron. Glebe £2, tithes £23 ; total £25.] " The said Mr. White left the said lyving about three
 " yeares since, and was presented to a lyving in Bedfordshire.
 " And that the said Mr. Roberts hath constantly procured the cure
 " supplied ever since, and of late by Mr. Nehemiah Rogers untill
 " about ffive weekes last past. That this parish might be con-
 " veniently joyned to the parish of Much Braxted."

BRADWELL JUXTA COGGESHALL.

[Parsonage presentative ; Incumbent, Isaack Smith,† clerk,
 " by order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers (the right
 " of presentation being in John Spencer, Esq. in the right of
 " Dame Ellen Maxey his wife, the relict of Sir William Maxey,
 Knight).] House and glebe (29 acres) £20 ; tithes £40 ; total £60.
 Mr. Smith is "a godly able minister, constantly supplying the cure."]

CHATTLE HAMLETT.

[Parsonage presentative ; Incumbent, Jeffery Watts, clerk.
 Glebe £16, tithes £73 ; total £89. " The said Mr. Watts being
 an able man doth preach there in his said cure. . . . The
 said Hamlett hath always been presented with Much Leighs " [q.v.].
 Patron, the late Lord Banning ; now, his heirs.]

* Lansd. £130.

† So both MSS., but should be "Smithies."

TERLING.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, John Stallam, clerk, presented by Robert Mildmay, Esq.; the right of presentation is now in Mrs. Joane Mildmay, widow. House and 10 acres £12; tithes £33; total £45. "Mr. Stallam is a godly and painefull minister, and preacheth constantly in his said cure." The Lansdowne MS. adds that £46 augmentation had been granted by the Committee for Regulating the Universities, out of the Rectory of West Hanney, Berkshire.]

KELVEDON.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, John Sames, clerk, by order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers; the right of presentation was in the Bishop of London. House and tenement, barn and stable, and 48 acres £34; tithes £26; total £60. Mr. Sames is a godly able and painful minister. "The Mannor of Church-hall in the same parish (to the owner whereof the great tithes belong), soe long as it continues in the owner's occupation, payes only a cheese made upon Midsummer daye for tythe."]

NOTLEY ALBA.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, George Barre, clerk, presented by Henry Nevill, Esq., Patron. Vicarage, barn, stable and seven acres £6; tithes £35; pension from Mr. Nevill £2 13s. 4d.; total £43 13s. 4d. Mr. Barre is an able godly minister and constantly preaches there. "There are three ffarme houses lying in a place called Youngs End and are neere adjoyning to (and fitt to be joyned with) the parish of Blacke Notley."]

HATFEILD PEVERELL.

[Vicarage presentative.] "That for these two yeares and a halfe last past hath beene and yett is without a settled minister, onely supplied by Mr. ... Clerke of Much Baddowe (one who is disaffected to the present government and unfitt for the said cure) procured by Mr. John Allen, parishioner, and paid by him. The vicarage is now lett at one pound eight shillings per Annum. A pencon (and noe tythes) of thirteen pounds six shillings eight pence formerly paid to the Viccar per Ann. butt there was added to it by Sr. Edmond Allen Baronett (in whom the presentation now is) who receives the proffitts of the said Viccarage, of twenty-five pounds per Ann, which is thirtye nyne pounds flourteen shillings and eight pence per Ann."

ULTING.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, William Hull, clerk, presented by the late King—present Patron, Sir John Tyrrell. House and small tithes £26. Parsonage and parsonage tithes, £60, “and paye nothing thereof to the minister.” [“He doth not neglect the cure, but is not a godly preaching minister.”*] “The said parish may conveniently be joyned to Hatfeild Peverel.”

CRESSING.

“There is within the said parish of Cressing one Viccarage, “which with the house and all the viccarage tythes and flortye “shillings per Ann. paid by one Webb, ffarmer of the Parsonage “tythes from the late Bishop of London, is worth £20 per Ann. “And that the said Mr. Webb’s Lease was for three lyves under “the yearely rent of ffive pounds thirteene shillings and four “pence. A thirde parte of the said parish belongeth to Henry “Nevill, Esq., his Mannor called Cressing Temple which payes noe “tythes. And that there are ffive ffarmes within the parish “of Ryvenhall which lye within a quarter of a myle of this parish “church; the names of which ffarmes are Godschalls, Roithes (?), “Toales, Archers, and the house where John Gurton lyveth.”

[The incumbent’s name and character are absent from both the Lambeth and the Lansdowne MSS.—so probably also from the original record.]

RIVENHALL.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, George Lisle, clerk, a godly able minister, by order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers—but the right of presentation is in Sir Thomas Wiseman, senior, knight. House, barns, stables, and glebe with tenement, £62; tithes £150; total £212. “There are Sixe ffarmes lying neare three myles from the said parish church, and are fitt to be joyned with Cressing parish, being distant from the parish church of Cressing about halfe a myle.”]

COGGESHALL HAMLETT.

[Neither house nor glebe; small tithes, £10 paid to the Vicar of Great Coggeshall. The great tithes being an impropriation are received by Mr. Rich. Benion.]

FALKBORNE.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, William Strutt, clerk. “butt for his abillities and godliness we cann say nothing”;

* Lansd. only.

by presentation from Sir Edward Bullock, deceased, the right of presentation being in his heirs. House, barn, stable and 25 acres £15 ; tithes £53 ; total £68.] “ There is not above twelve ffamelyses
 “ in the parish, and some ffarre remote from the parish church,
 “ and fitt to be layed to these parishes following (vizt) a certain
 “ ffarme called by the name of Collmas in the occupation of Barthol.
 “ Wall, a ffarme in the occupation of Richard Wade, to be layde
 “ to Wytham Church, and allso the Hall and the Parsonage and
 “ ffarme wherein Henry Turner dwelleth, a ffarme in the occupation
 “ of Jeremy Rogers to be layed to Wytham Church aforesaid, a
 “ ffarme of Henry Whittbreds, a ffarme of Nicholas Swords to be
 “ layd to White Nottley, the ffarme in the occupation of Thomas
 “ Herige, the ffarme of Mr. Leventhorpe and the cottage wherein
 “ William Woodward lyved, to be layed to Terling church.”

(*i.e.*, apparently seven to Witham, two to White Notley, and three to Terling. Lansdowne describes Strutt as “ a godly and able minister ”—some mistake probably.)

NOTLEY NIGRA.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Edward Sparhawke, clerk, by order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers ; the right of presentation is in Thomas Keightlye, Esq. House and glebe £20, tithes £90, total £110. Mr. Sparhawke is an able godly preaching Minister.*]

The return is signed by 29 out of the 38 jurors named above. (Edward Frevilian may appear as Edward Fryer.) The absentees are John Andrewes, John Scott, Thomas Plum, Robert Purcas, John Currey, Robert Leck, Edward Rayner, William Aylett, Henry Merryton.

Sequestrations are stated or implied at Panfield, Shalford, Gosfield, Stisted, Bures, Alphamstone, Middleton, Borley, Pentlow, Belchamp Otten, Halsted, Bradwell, Kelvedon, Rivenhall, Black Notley ; and something of the kind at Great Maplested, Twinsted, and Ashen. The payment of fifths is stated at Gosfield, Stisted, Alphamstone, Pentlow, Belchamp Otten, Halsted, Great Maplested.

It is recommended (1) that a *new parish* be formed out of parts of Finchingfield, Birdbrook and Ridgewell.

(2) *Union of parishes :*

(a) Great and Little Henny.

(b) Little Maplested to be joined to Pebmarsh and Great Maplested.

* Lansd.

- (c) The two Braxteds.
- (d) Faulkbourn to be divided between Witham, Terling, and White Notley.
- (e) Ulting to be joined to Hatfield Peverel.
- (f) Apparently Brundon to Borley, but this may be only change of boundary.

(3) *Alteration of boundaries:*

- (a) Part of White Notley to be given to Black Notley.
- (b) Part of Rivenhall to Cressing.
- (c) Part of Gestingthorpe to Pebmarsh and Wickham.

Notice also accounts of disused chapels under Ovington and Belchamp Otten (Albrights) and Wethersfield. Also the detailed accounts of Bulmer, Pauls Belchamp, Bures Hamlet, Kelvedon, Hatfield Peverel, and the two Braxteds.

For the Hundreds of Lexden, Tendring, Thurstable, and Winstree, and the Borough of Colchester, the Inquisition was held at the King's Head, Colchester, on Saturday,* 19th September, 1650.

The Commissioners were : Sir Thomas Honywood and Sir Thomas Bowes, Knts ; Thomas Cooke, Henry Barington, John Langley, and William Harlackenden, Esqres ; and Thomas Tallcott, Gent.

The Jurors were : John Thorowgood, Jeremiah Skingley, Joseph Upsheire, George Toller, John Potter, John Cockrell, James Cardinall, Henry Coleman, John Alefounder, Robert Webb, Bezaliell Auger, Joshua Upsheire, Robert Nicholls, Edward Elliston, William Wiseman, Thomas Thorowgood, John Maidstone, John Edwards, Robert Maydestone, Whittlocke Cocke, George Francis, Richard Bridge, William Heckford, James Windle, James Heard, William Stebbing, John Clark, John Makin, John Styles, Marke Badcocke, Henry Herris, John Swaye, John Pegrum, Thomas Ball, Richard Jackman, George Beale, Jonathan Bennett, Abraham Condell, Richard Edwards, John Convin, John Luskin, John Gale, Abraham Barrington, William Bush, and Edward ffermyn, gentlemen. (45 in all.)

LEXDEN HUNDRED.

ALDHAM.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, John Willson. Glebe £13, tithe £191. Patron, the late Bishop of London.]

* (*sic*) But the 19th was on a Thursday.

The Lansdowne MSS. apparently gives total value as £184 or £154. Neither MS. usually gives in this division the character of the minister, if all right. Apparently the original return for the division was much briefer than for the rest of the county.

BOXTED.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, John Hubbert. Glebe £4, tithes £41. Bishop of London was Patron.]

BERGHOLT, WEST.

[Parsonage presentative. Minister, Mr. Gregory Holland, "who is aged and consents to the appointing of a curate by the parish for the better supply of the cure." Glebe £13, tithe £80. Earl of Dorset, Patron.]

BIRCH MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. Minister, John Ludgater. Glebe £30, tithes £90. "The late Bishop of London was Patron."]

BIRCH PARVA.

"There is within the said parish neyther Parsonage house nor Viccarage house, butt a gleabe land worth ffive pounds eight shillings per An. and tythes worth ffifteene pounds per An. Noe Incumbent at present. The Patroness was the Ladye Swynerton,* sequestered, lately deceased."

BUERS MOUNT.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, John Simpson. Glebe £12, tithe £60 3s. 4d. Patron, Earl of Pembroke.]

COLNE EARLES.

[Vicarage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Ralph Jocelyne. Glebe £4; tithe £24. Patron, Richard Harlackenden, Esq.]

COLNE INGAYNE.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Brackelye. Glebe £35, tithes £70. Paid out for Tenths, £1 7s. 9d. Patrons, Christ's Hospital, London.]

COLNE WHITE.

[Vicarage presentative. No glebe; tithes £22. No minister. Patron, — Bramstone, Esq.]

* Lamb., Swytherton.

COLNE WAKES.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Edmond Layfield. Glebe, £10; tithes £86. Patron, Sir John Jacob. Mr. Layfeild is disaffected.]

CHAPPELL.

[Vicarage presentative, "belonging to Tey Magna." Glebe £9, tithes £20. Incumbent, Mr. Timothy Rogers. The parish presents.]

COGGESHALL.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £35; tithe £75. Incumbent, Mr. John Owen. Patron, Earl of Warwick.]

COPFORD.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £30, tithes £83 17s. od. Incumbent, Mr. Thompson. "The right of presentation is in the parliament."]

DEDHAM.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £10, tithes £34. Incumbent, Mr. George Smith. Patron, Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster.]

EAST DONILAND.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £24, tithe £28. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Lawson. Patron, Robert Tonstall.]

EAST THORPE.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £20, tithes £40. Incumbent, Mr. Oakey. Patron, Mr. Kingsmeale.]

FEERING.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £7, tithe £33. No minister. Patron, Mr. La Mott of London. Some of the parish is fit to be joined to Markshall.]

FORDHAM.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £16, tithes £100. Minister, Mr. John Buckley. Patrons, Sir John Lucas and William Abell.

HORKESLEY, MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £16, tithe £84. Incumbent, Mr. Nathaniel Bugge. Patron, Sir John Lucas, sequestered.]

HORKESELEY PARVA.

[Donative, £20 given at the discretion of Esquire Denham]
 . . . “Noe minister there and the Patron is a Delinquent.”

LANGHAM.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £36, tithe £60. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Sebborne. Patron, Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster.]

MARKSHALL.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £28, tithe £25. Incumbent, Mr. Will. Clopton. Patron, Sir Thomas Honynwood.] “There is parte of ffeering parish that is three myles from the Parish Church and is neere adjoyning to this.”

MESSING.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £20, tithe £40. Incumbent, Mr. John Preston. Patron, Mr. Richard Chibborne.]

PATTISWICKE.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe, 40 shillings, tithe £38. Incumbent, Mr. Patricke Wemms, a Scotch man. Patron, the late Bishop of London.]

TEY MAGNA.

[One parsonage presentative formerly to a clergyman, *Sine Cura Animarum*. Glebe £30, tithe £150. Possessor, Nehemiah Rogers, junior. Patron, Sir Henry Ardley, sequestered. Vicarage house and glebe, £3; small tithes, £37. “The Viccar is putt in by Mr. Rogers, and his name is Ferdinando Herbert, a man ignorant.”]

TEY PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £13, tithe £20. Incumbent, Jacob Lane. Patron was the last Bishop of London. “This parish is fitt to be joyned to Tey Magna.”]

TEY MARKES.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe, 40 shillings, and no other maintenance. Incumbent, Mr. John Nevill. Patron, Matthew Taylor.]

STANOWAYE.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £40, tithe £80. Incumbent, Mr. John Westlye. Patron, Mr. James Calthrop.]

WIVENHOE.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £14, tithe £50. No minister. Patron, Sir Horatius* Townesend.]

WORMINGFORD.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £6, tithe £50. Incumbent, Mr. John White. Patroness, Mrs. Walgrave.]

[INWORTH is omitted altogether in both sources.]

THURSTABLE HUNDRED.

GOLDHANORR.†

[Parsonage presentative. Tithe £80. Incumbent, Mr. Edward How, put in by the Committee of Plundered Ministers. Patron, Richard Sames, Esq. The minister is unfit.]

HEYBRIDGE.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £18, tithe £28. Incumbent, Mr. Richard Redrich. Patron, Mr. John Freshwater.]

LANGFORD.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £16, tithe £64. Incumbent, Mr. John Redrich. Patron, Mr. Elyas Harvy of London.]

TOLSON DARCYE.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £3, tithe £50. Incumbent, Mr. Battell. Patron, Mr. Bernard Hale.]

TOLSON KNIGHTS.

[Parsonage presentative.‡ Glebe £28, tithe £72. Incumbent, Mr. Matthew Gyll. Patron, Barnard Hoyle.]

TOLSON MAJOR.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £3, tithe £20. Incumbent, Mr. Nicholas Gill, scandalous. Patrons, Lord Keepers of the Great Seal.]

TOLSBURIE.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £8, tithe £50. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Gilbert, scandalous. Patron, Mr. William Samford.]

TOTHAM MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. Tithe £40. No minister. Patron, Mr. William Aylett of Totham.]

* Lansd. "Horatio."

† i.e., Goldhanger. So Lansd.

‡ Lansd. only.

TOTHAM PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £6, tithe £40. No minister. Richard Sames, patron.]

WICKHAM BISHOPS.*

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £50, tithe £60. Incumbent, Mr. Enoch Graye. Patron, Bishop of London.]

WINSTREE HUNDRED.

ABBERTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Robert Potter. Glebe £24, tithe £46. Patron, Sir Henry Ardley, sequestered.]

FINGRINGHOE.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £6, tithe £35. Minister, Mr. Thomas Lawson, by order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers. Patron, Mr. Fryer of Wanstead.]

LAYER BRETON.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £20, tithe £50. Minister, Mr. Edward Theadam.† Patrons, Mr. Edward Rob and Augustine Brograne [?].]

LAYER DE LA HAYE.

[Donative. Glebe £20. Minister, Mr. John Ardley, "fforced upon them by Sir Henry Ardley, Patron, sequestered."]

LAYER MAGNA [*sic*].

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £5, tithe £95. Minister, Mr. Thomas Potter. Patron, Sir Samuel Tryan.]

LANGENHOE.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £20, tithe £54. Minister, Mr. Henry Coleman, who is scandalous.]

MERSEA, EAST.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £20, tithe £65. Minister, Mr. Israel Edwards. Patrons, Keepers of the Great Seal.]

MERSEA, WEST.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £24, tithe £27. Minister, Mr. William Noble. Patron, unknown.] "Earl of Rivers presented last."‡

* Name omitted in Lamb. MS.

† Lansd. "Thadman."

‡ Lansd. only.

PELDON.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £18. tithe £100. Minister, Francis Onge. Patron, Mr. Thomas Reynolds.]

SALCOTT.

"That there is no maintenance for any minister. They desire to be joyned to Verley, which church is within one hundred Roode of Salcott."

VERLEY.

[Name blank in Lambeth MS.] One Parsonage presentative. Glebe and tithe £38. Minister, Mr. Matthew Bugg.* Patron, Mr. Ardley.]

WIGBORROW MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £50. tithe £100. Minister, Mr. Robert Bland. Patrons, Earl of Suffolk and Dr. Aylett.]

WIGBORROW PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £10. tithe £45. Minister, Mr. Robert Tirell.† Patron, Sutton's Hospital.]

TENDRING HUNDRED.

ARDLEIGH.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe (2 acres) and tithe £44. The late King was Patron. Incumbent, Mr. Nathaniel Carr, "putt in by the Parliament."]

ALSFORD.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £10. tithe £35.‡ Incumbent, Mr. John Lake. Patron, "Mr. Hawkins, a merchant in London."]

BENTLEY MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £7. tithe £44. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Beard, "putt in by the Parliament."]

BRICKLINSEA.

[Vicarage presentative, without glebe; tithe £30. Incumbent, Mr. James Backler. Patron, Bishop of London.]

BROMLEY PARVA.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £6. tithe £44. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Felton. Patroness, Lady Vere.]

* Lansd. "Biggs."

† Really "Stirrell."

‡ Lansd., total £40.

BEAMOND.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £10, tithe £30. Incumbent, Mr. Isaac Sterlin. Patron, Mr. Charles Potts.]

BRADFIELD.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £6, tithe £24. Incumbent, Mr. John Jiggons.* Patron, Earl of Oxford.]

BROMLEY MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £30, tithe £70. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Salter. Patron, Sir Thomas Bowes.]

BENTLEY PARVA.

[Parsonage and Vicarage presentative. Glebe £24, tithe £56. Incumbent, Mr. Henry Stymeare. Patron, Earl of Oxford.]

CLACTON PARVA.

[Vicarage presentative, without glebe ; tithe £30. Incumbent, Mr. Henry Wayte. Patroness, Countess of Rivers.]

CLACTON MAGNA.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £4, tithe £45. Incumbent, Mr. Joseph Long. Patroness, Countess of Rivers.]

EMESTED.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £5, tithe £30. Incumbent, Mr. Roger Wayfield, presented by the Master and Fellows of Jesus College.]

FRATING.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £10, tithe £30. Incumbent Mr. George Ruth† elected by the whole parish.]

FRINTON.

[Parsonage. Glebe £14, tithe £34. Incumbent, Mr. James Reynolds. Patron, Sir Harbottle Grimston.] "That the said Parish is very small, not having above ffoure ffamielies in it, and is scittuate verie neare unto Walton. Wee therefore conceive it convenient to be annexed thereunto."

WALTON.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £2, tithe £24. Incumbent, Mr. Stephen Pipple. Patrons, Viscount Lumley and Isaac Creame.]

HARWICH.‡

* Lansd. "Higgins."

† Lansd. "Rush."

‡ Name omitted, Lambeth.

"That there is neyther Parsonage nor Viccarage nor any Maintenance for preaching minister. It hath a Chappell which was wont to be annexed to Dovercoate, but with much Inconveniencye to the Inhabitants by reason of the great distance."

DOVERCOATE.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £10, and no other maintenance. "Mr. Thomas Tookey is Incumbent and officiates att Harwich. The late King was Patron."]

HOLLAND PARVA.

"Neyther Viccarage nor Parsonage. The Tythes are worth seaven pounds per Ann. That there is not above Eight ffamelyes in the said parish, and they are scittuate neare Claxton Magna. Wee therefore conceive it Convenient to have this parish of Holland Parva annexed thereto. That Mr. Jenkinson is Incumbent, formerly sequestred from Panfeild."

HOLLAND MAGNA.*

Parsonage presentative. Glebe £30, tithe £62. Incumbent, Mr. Edward Dowell. Patroness, Countess of Rivers.]

KIRBIE.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £6, tithe £44. Incumbent, Mr. John Hearne, presented by Doctor Warren.]

LAWFORD.†

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £20, tithe £80. Incumbent, Mr. John Eades. Patron, Mr. Crew.]

MOSS.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £13, tithe £32. Incumbent, Mr. Matthew Durden. Patron, Mr. Charles Potts.]

MISLEY

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £12, tithe £50. Incumbent, Mr. John Witham. Patron, Earl of Oxford.]

MANINGTREE.

"Neyther Viccarage nor Parsonage, and the Tythes due from thence butt three pounds per Ann. That there is a Chappell fitt to Receive the Inhabitants of the Parish. That it is one of the most populous places in the Hundred, and a Market Towne. Wee therefore Conceive it fitt and desire that it may have

* Name omitted, Lambeth.

† Name omitted, Lambeth.

allowance of a settled Maintenance for an Able Pious Minister, who might not onely preach upon the Lord's daye but upon a Lecture daye allso. Many Inhabitants have beene att much Expenses for upholding of a Lecture in former tymes. And by reason of its remote distance from any other place it is incapable of a Connexion with Convenience to the People."

OKELYE MAGNA.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £20, tithe £92. Incumbent, Mr. Robert Coale, who hath the right of presentation to himself and his heirs for ever.]

OKELYE PARVA.*

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £14, tithe £41. Incumbent, Mr. John Malden. Patron, Mr. Gilly of London.]

ST. OSEY.

"There is neyther Viccarage nor Parsonage in the said parish. Mr. Nehemiah Rogers supplies the cure att the allowance of the Countess of Rivers."

RAMSEY.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £3, tithe £37. Incumbent, Mr. Taylor. The late King was Patron.]

THORRINGTON.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £22, tithe £46. Incumbent, Mr. Robert Peartree. Patrons, St. John's College.]

THORPE.

[Vicarage presentative. Glebe £4, tithe £45. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Harrold. Patroness, Countess of Rivers.]

TENDRING.

[Parsonage and Vicarage presentative. Glebe £35, tithe £65 13s. Incumbent, Mr. Isaack† Hewett. Patron, Mr. Drury.]

WRABNESS.

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe £16, tithe £28. Cure not supplied.]

WIDLEY (*i.e.*, Weeley).

[Parsonage presentative. Glebe [£5] tithe £49. Incumbent, Mr. James Parkinson, "an aged man, that hath hyred Samuell Dowell to supply the cure." Patron, Bishop of London.]

* No name, Lambeth.

† So both MSS. Really "Israel."

[Lambeth MS. leaves blank in value of glebe; Lansdowne gives total £54.]

[Wix is omitted altogether.]

COLCHESTER.

ALL SAINTS.

[Parsonage presentative. House worth £3, tithe £30. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Buxton. Patron, Sir Henry Audley, sequestered.]

BUTTOPH.*

[Donative. Patron, Sir Henry Audley, sequestered. "The great Tythes belong to All Saints aforesaid; the small Tythes are worth £10." "The Church burnt and ruined in the late Seige. No Minister there."

GILES.

"Donative formerly appropriate to the Abbey of St. John's and since hath been presented by the Lord Keepers. It is at present vacant and the church ruined. No Gleabe Land, and Tythes worth about twenty five pounds per Ann."

JAMES.

"Parsonage presentative. The house burned down in the late Seidge, the ground worth twenty shillings per Ann, the tythes and rates of houses worth twenty pounds per Ann. The Patron, Sr. Henry Audley, sequestred. No Minister there."

LEONARDS.

[One Parsonage. Incumbent, Mr. Alexander Piggott, by order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers, "being obteyned from the Lords Keepers, the Patrons." Glebe £7 15s., tithe 40s., rates of houses £38.]

MARYS.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Wm. Burard,† put in by the Parliament. The Church is ruined in the late seige. Parsonage house, tenements and grounds belonging. £27 2s., tithe £12 18s., total £40.]

*_Name omitted in Lambeth MS.

† Or Buzard.

MARYE MAGDALEN.

“Cure of Soules butt noe maintenance nor minister. The Church is decayed and made an inhabitation for poore people. This Parish is fitt to be Joyned to Leonards parish aforesaid.”

MARTIN*.

“There is an antient Sequestration having no house nor gleabe land nor tithes belonging to it. The church decayed and the place att present vacant.”

NICHOLAS.

[Parsonage presentative ; house worth £4 10s., tithe and rates about £9. “The said Parsonage is voyde.”]

PEETERS.

[One Parsonage presentative. Patron, Sir Henry Audley, “by whom one Mr. Carter was presented butt not admitted. The cure is att present supplied by Mr. James.” Parsonage house, £6, one tenement and glebe £6, rates of houses £8 18s. 10d. ; total, £20 18s. 10d.]

RUNWALES.

“An antient sequestration, having noe house nor gleabe lands and att present vacant.” [Rates of houses £3 8s. 8d., tithes 8s. ; total £3 16s. 8d.]

TRINITYE.

[Donative. Incumbent, Mr. William Burard,† put in by order of Parliament. Tithe £8, farm in Ardley £16 ; total £24.]

BERECHURCH.

“There is within the said Hamlett one Donative. Mr. Thomas Buxton is present minister, and settled by Sir Henry Audley, Patron, and paid by him.]

GREENSTED.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. John Jacob. Patron, formerly the late King, now the State. House and glebe, £6 (tithes £50‡), total £56.]

* No name in Lambeth.

† Or Buzard ; elsewhere Boisard.

‡ Lambeth omits tithes.

LEXDEN.

[Parsonage. Incumbent, Mr. John Whyting, presented by the Parliament. House and glebe £8, tithe £80; total £88.]

MILEND.

[Parsonage presentative. Incumbent, Mr. Thomas Ayers. Patron, Sir John Lucas. House and glebe £30, tithes £50; total £80.]

"In Colchester are twelve Parishes and ffoure hamblets;
"the twelve Parishes ffitt to be Joyned as ffolloweth:

"Peeters, Maryes and Rumballs in one parish.

"Nicholas, Trinitye and Martins in one parish.

"James, Buttolphes and All Saints in one parish.

"Heith or Leonards, Magdalen and Giles in one parish."

This is signed by 29 Jurors out of the 45, the absentees being: George Toller, John Potter, John Cockerell, James Cardinall, John Alefounder, Robert Webb, Robert Nicholls, William Wiseman, Thomas Thorowgood, John Edwards, William Heckford, John Makin, John Pegrum, Jonathan Bennett, Richard Edwards, John Convin. But Whitlocke Cocke appears as Whitlocke Cole; Jeremiah Skinglye as Jeremy Kinglye; John Swaye (?) as John Sedaye; while the "Upsheire's" sign as "Upcher."

The returns for this division are unusually brief. Nothing is said, *e.g.*, about the value of impropriations; they are usually quite ignored. Two parishes, Inworth and Wix, are omitted altogether. There are also a few omissions in the Lambeth MS. which can be corrected from the Lansdowne.

At Colchester the only ministers are Alexander Piggott at St. Leonard's; Thomas Buxton at All Saints' (and Berechurch); William Burard (Buzard, Boisard) at St. Mary's and Trinity; while Mr. James supplies the cure of St. Peter's. Elsewhere there are vacancies noted at Little Birch, White Colne, Feering, Wivenhoe, Great and Little Totham, Wrabness, Little Horkesley.

There are complaints of ministers at Wakes Colne, Great Tey, Goldhanger, Tolleshunt Major, Tollesbury, (Laver de La Haye), Langenhoe.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (1) Part of Feering to be joined to Markshall.
- (2) Little Tey to be joined to Great Tey.
- (3) Salcote to Virley.
- (4) Frinton to Walton.

- (5) Dovercourt and Harwich to be separated, and proper maintenance at each.
- (6) Little Holland to be joined to Great Clacton.
- (7) Manningtree to have separate maintenance for a minister.
- (8) The twelve Colchester parishes to be reduced to four.

Sequestrations seem implied in the following cases (but some are appointments by Parliament to vacant livings in the gift of the Crown or delinquents) :

Goldhanger, Fingringhoe, Ardleigh, Great Bentley, St. Mary's and Trinity Colchester, Lexden.

Curates chosen by parish, at West Bergholt and Weeley.

Effects of the siege at Colchester :

St. Botolph's church burnt and ruined ; so St. James' parsonage house ; St. Mary's church ruined. St. Giles' church is also ruined, but the siege is not mentioned. St. Martin's and St. Mary Magdalen are decayed.

Virley was then more important, or at least a better living, than Salcot. But now Virley church has gone to ruin.

The chief private patrons in the district are : Sir Henry Audley, seven livings ; the Countess of Rivers, five ; the Earl of Oxford and Sir John Lucas, three each. But in this division, when a minister was put in by Parliament or the Committee for Plundered Ministers, the name of the true patron is seldom given.

The conclusion of the Lambeth MS. is clearly not the signatures of Jurors or Commissioners of the Inquisition in the Dunmow-Walden Division, though this immediately precedes, but of the County Committee.

Willm. Masham.

Sam. Sheffeld.

Willm. Conyers.

Xtopher Muschamp.

Edw. Turner.

Will. Collard.

Tho. Cole.

Robert Calthrop.

Robert Maidstone.

Of these, Masham and Sheffeld had sat as Commissioners at Ongar ; Conyers at Romford ; Muschamp, Collard and Calthrop at Dunmow. The rest had apparently not sat, unless Cole is a mistake for Coke or Cooke.

XII. THE ORDINATIONS.

It is sometimes taken for granted that very few of those holding livings during the Troubles had been ordained, at least by bishops. But, as has been shown, while a large minority of clergy were

sequestered, the majority retained their livings till vacated by death or promotion; and nearly all those who replaced them were University men episcopally ordained, "plundered ministers," or poorly beneficed or unbeneficed. Practically all the older Puritans, including the great majority of those prominent during the Troubles, had been ordained by bishops. Edmund Calamy had been chaplain to Bp. Felton of Ely. In Essex, out of the nine Assistants to the Commissioners for Ejecting Ignorant, Insufficient, and Scandalous Ministers, at least six (possibly seven or eight) had been so ordained; three (John Willis of Ingatestone, Thomas Peck of Prittlewell, and John Stalham of Terling) had been instituted to their livings by Laud as Bishop of London; while three others, Martin Holbeach, Hugh Glover and Matthew Newcomen, had been unbeneficed before the Troubles (respectively a schoolmaster, curate, and lecturer).

The question of ordination only concerns the younger men, not in Orders before the Troubles. For some time after the outbreak of the war, bishops continued to ordain freely, but difficulties continually increased. The Westminster Assembly, while obviously making no difficulty of men coming before them having in the past been, like themselves, ordained by bishops, required all new candidates for the ministry to be ordained by some "Classis" of Presbyters. But as in many counties this system was probably never fully at work, men from them would be sent to some London Classis. We know of this in the case of men from Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.

The Presbyterian system got fully to work in London and Lancashire; elsewhere Calamy's notices of ordinations show it at work in some districts, though rarely covering a whole county; elsewhere apparently it never got to work at all. The minute books of the Manchester and Bury (Lancashire) Classis are published by Dr. Shaw (Chetham Society); that of Wirksworth (Derbyshire) is also published; that of the Fourth Classis of London is preserved in MS. Dr. Shaw has also published the surviving minutes of the later Voluntary Associations for Cornwall, Cambridgeshire, and Nottinghamshire. The formation of these, largely with a view to Ordinations, greatly relieved the London Classis, who had regularly ordained men for districts where no regular system had been established, as in Essex. Unfortunately we know only the object of the Essex Voluntary Association; we have not even a list of members, let alone a record of proceedings.

I believe the bulk of the MS. additions in one of the B. M. copies of the Classis (4135 a.37) belong to this date—while some of the added names had been for some time in their parishes, others only came there about 1655—and with one or two exceptions, 1655 or 1656, the probable date of the Association, will suit these entries.

We have a few cases of men being ordained for Essex parishes by one London Classis. The Fourth Classis comprised 14 parishes, mostly near London Bridge, but including Cornhill; its minute book is preserved in Dr. Williams' Library (copy at Sion College). In it eight ordinations are recorded between 1647 and 1659, along with notices of the examination of the candidates. The rule from 1648 was for each Classis to ordain in turn, and there were at one time or another at least nine in working order; hence it is clear that those ordained by the Fourth Classis are only a small proportion of those actually ordained in London. (We have incidental notices of a few more ordained by other Classes, in Calamy or the Minutes of the Westminster Assembly.) The order for each Classis to ordain in turn was given by the Provincial Assembly in December 1648, realising that there was or would be a necessity of ordaining ministers by the Classes in that province for other parts of the kingdom, until Classical Assemblies could be formed in other provinces.

Half the counties of England are represented among those ordained by the Fourth Classis; but there are only three or four cases from Essex. Among eleven men ordained Nov. 29, 1649, in St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, was Henry Esday, M.A. Peterhouse, Cambridge, ordained as assistant to Richard Babington of Ingrave. The notices of his testimonials and examination state that he brought to the presbytery his title and testimonies of his life, conversation and proficiency in studies. He was ordered to preach for Mr. Tise next Lord's Day at St. Botolph, Billingsgate, and to bring to the next meeting a testimony of his age and having taken the covenant. At this next meeting he was examined of the grace of God in him, of his call to the ministry, and in the tongues, arts, and divinity; and had a thesis given him, "*An Christus mortuus sit pro omnibus?*" (Did Christ die for all?) This he was to bring in next day with the above certificates; he did so. The ordination was solemnized by fasting and prayer and imposition of hands. The ministers taking part were John Wall, (St. Michael, Cornhill); William Harrison (St. Benet, Gracechurch); William Wickins (St. Andrew Hubbard); William Blackmore

(St. Peter, Cornhill); and Jacob Tise (St. Botolph, Billingsgate). Mr. Harrison began the day with prayer; Mr. Wall preached the sermon; after the imposition of hands Mr. Tise concluded with exhortation, prayer, and blessing. Their letters of ordination were signed by all the above ministers, and by Henry Robrough of St. Leonard, Eastcheap.

Esday had clearly been some time at Ingrave as a probationer, as he signed the "Essex Watchmen's Watchword" the previous February. He left for Pentlow probably next April; he was certainly there by September 1650. This being a sequestration, Esday was ejected in 1660. He is noticed by Calamy (and Davids).

At the next ordination, May 1, 1651, at St. Andrew Hubbard, 13 were ordained, including Henry Hawes, B.A. St. Catherine's, Cambridge, as Chaplain to the Earl of Warwick; and William Howlett, B.A. King's, Cambridge, for Rickling. The testimonials and examination were of the same character as before, except that the Covenant is not mentioned. Howlett had to preach for Mr. Wickins at St. Andrew's and had for his thesis "*An Scriptura sit norma fidei?*" (Is Scripture the rule of faith?). The ministers taking part in the ordination were Tise, who began with prayer; Thomas White (St. Mary at Hill), who preached, gave the exhortation and concluded; Blackmore, Wickins, and Joseph Eyre of St. Martin Orgar. Howlett seems to have died in less than two years, as there was an appointment to Rickling, vacant by death, in May 1653.

The ten ordained Dec. 2, 1652, at St. Andrew Hubbard, included John Peake, student in divinity (*i.e.*, not a graduate), St. John's College, Cambridge; ordained as assistant to Mr. John Petter, of Hever, Kent. His thesis was "*De Obligatione Legis Moralis*" (On the obligation of the Moral Law). The ordainers were Blackmore, who began with prayer; Thomas Henchman, St. George, Botolph Lane, who preached; Tise, White, and Wickins, who concluded with prayer. All of these subscribed the letters of ordination.

John Peake was a younger son of Daniel Peake, schoolmaster of Chelmsford. He cannot have stayed long at Hever, as in 1657, when appointed to Fryerning, he brought certificates to the Triers from ministers in N.W. Kent; Eltham, Dartford, Pauls Cray, etc.

At an ordination May 24, 1654, at St. Benet, Gracechurch, the twelve ordained include Thomas Parson, M.A. Pembroke,

Cambridge, for Chingford in Essex. (Testimonials and examinations as before.) His thesis was "An homo habeat se pure passive in conversione?" (Is man's part in conversion purely passive?). He preached for Dr. Kendall at St. Benet's. The ordainers were Wickins, who began the day with prayer, Dr. William Kendall, successor to Harrison at St. Benet's, who preached the ordination sermon and concluded; White, Tise, and Peter Vinke of St. Michael Cornhill, who had himself as Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, been ordained by this Classis in Nov. 1649.

Parson was ejected from Chingford, which was a sequestration, in 1660. There is a notice of him in Calamy under St. Michael, Wood Street; also of Wickins, Vinke, Blackmore, and others.

William Blackmore, one of the most regular members of this Classis, had been in the sequestration of Pentlow from 1644 to 1646, when he succeeded Thomas Coleman at St. Peter, Cornhill, sequestered from William Fairfax. Being only in deacon's orders, he received ordination at the first ordination held by this Classis April 27, 1647. This should not be taken as a repudiation or depreciation of his former orders; only as a recognition of the difference between a deacon and a presbyter; he did not regard himself as "fully in orders." This was the line recommended by the Westminster Assembly; though some, as Manton, regarded deacon's orders as sufficient. Blackmore lived latterly at Hare Street, Romford. The above Minute-book was preserved by him, and kept by his family till 1884, when it was presented to Dr. Williams' Library.

Ordination was one of the objects of the later "Voluntary Association," though again we hear of no ordination by it, unless, as is probable, that of the younger Edmund Calamy be one.

Edmund Calamy, says his son and namesake, "was solemnly "ordained to the work and office of a minister by fasting and "prayer and imposition of hands in the church of Moreton, Nov. 10, "1653, by Mr. Walker, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Lavender, Mr. Poole, "Mr. Harper, Mr. Fitch, and Mr. Francis Chandler, ministers in "the neighbourhood; and Mr. Borfet of High Laver and Mr. "Richard Roberts were also ordained at the same time."*

But there seems something wrong with the *date*, which may be a mistake for 1655, more probably 1657 or 1658.

(1) Calamy was an undergraduate at Cambridge in 1653, not taking his degree till 1654-5.

* *Continuation*: p. 464.

(2) He "preached some time at Moreton with general approbation, and was fixed in that living April 20, 1659." This would suit a period of five months, or possibly a year and a half, but hardly five and a half years. His companion, Samuel Borfet, was similarly admitted to High Laver, March 15, 1658-9. Neither Samuel Hoard, Rector of Moreton, nor Thomas King, Rector of High Laver, took part in the ordination; this suggests they were both infirm at the time. Hoard gave a certificate as late as Feb. 1657-8, dying in January 1658-9. Both he and King were original members nominated to the Ongar Classis. Harper belonged to another Classis (Harlow and Waltham).

(3) Francis Chandler does not seem to have come into the district till 1656, when we find him at Theydon Garnon; he had previously been at Woodham Ferrers and at Kelvedon (probably Easterford).

This ordination is of such interest that it seems worth while to trace the subsequent history of all concerned. Harper (Epping), Poole (Bobbingworth), and Chandler, who were in sequestrations, were ejected in 1660, but the two last remained as curates, and Harper either did the same or took the chapel in Epping Town. Poole apparently conformed at once in 1662; Walker (Fyfield) and Harper hesitated, but conformed very soon; Harper died Vicar of Witham. Lavender (High Ongar), Whiston (Little Laver), Fitch (Shelley), as well as Calamy, Borfet and Roberts, lost their livings then.

It is strange that there are in Calamy no mentions of Presbyterian ordinations in Essex except this and that of Giles Firmin, ordained at Shalford when near upon forty years of age, by Mr. Stephen Marshall of Finchingfield and other ministers.* Probably it shows the Classis made a beginning in 1648.

But we do know from the Records of Restoration Visitations that a fair number were ordained by Bishops during the period. The Bishop of London's Visitation Book of 1664 records for most of the diocese not merely that each of the clergy attending showed his Letters of (Priests) Orders; but also when and by what Bishop they were given. Unfortunately the book only began to state this regularly after the Archdeaconry of Essex and the Deanery of Witham had been covered; up to this point the ordinations are stated only when there was something special about them, *e.g.*,

* Calamy, *Account*: p. 396.

by Scotch or Irish bishops, or when a man did not bring his Letters of Orders at the proper time. But for the rest of Essex, as well as for London, Middlesex, the Archdeaconry of St. Albans, and the Deanery of Braughing, the list is nearly complete.

Of course a large number of the men in parishes in 1664 had been ordained before the Troubles. It is curious that I find *no* cases of men ordained by either Laud or Juxon in person; were they too busy with State matters? It looks as if men in London diocese had gone, or were sent, largely to Theophilus Field, Bishop successively of Llandaff, St. Davids, and Hereford, who lived at Westminster and ordained at St. Margaret's. Francis White, Bishop of Ely 1631-8, and John Williams of Lincoln, 1621-1641, also have a disproportionate number of London clergy to their credit.

A large number had also been ordained at or since the Restoration; some of these cases were probably previously in Presbyterian orders, and had held their livings for a number of years previously.

But a fair number had been ordained after the outbreak of the Civil War and before the Restoration (I include cases up to Lady Day, 1660). The Bishops so ordaining, so far as Essex men are concerned, are Ralph Brownrigg of Exeter, Brian Duppa of Salisbury, Henry King of Chichester, Thomas Morton of Durham, Thomas Winniffe of Lincoln, Thomas Fuller (Fulwar) of Ardfert and Aghadoe, Robert Maxwell of Kilmore, Joseph Hall of Norwich.

Winniffe had been for many years Dean of St. Paul's, holding also the Essex livings of Lambourne and Willingale Doe. He was no Laudian; he heads the list of signatures to Calandrine's testimonials in 1640; and his appointment to Lincoln, like those of Hall to Norwich and Brownrigg to Exeter, was an attempt by Charles to conciliate moderate men. Apparently he stayed at his house at Buckden, near Huntington, within the Parliamentary lines, till the end of 1646. He ordained there a large number of men; the Restoration Visitation Books for London and Norwich dioceses show at least 22 ordained by him between the outbreak of the War and Sept. 1646; probably there were a much larger number in his own diocese and in Ely. He clearly persisted in ordaining on rather a large scale throughout the worst period of Presbyterian ascendancy.* But his ordinations ceased when he left Buckden, though he lived till 1654 in his old parish of

* The Westminster Assembly disliked men going to him for Ordination in 1646; but did not reject them on this account.

Lambourne. It would seem that on leaving his diocese he regarded himself as retired altogether.

Joseph Hall of Norwich ordained freely down to March 1643-4, the time when the Covenant came to be enforced. For the next few months he ordained men by one's and two's, but had a large ordination Sept. 22, 1644; the indignation caused by this seems to have led to his eviction from the Palace. No more ordinations are recorded in his Register. But the "Confirmation" (Visitation) Book, 1662, shows he was ordaining—in his house at Heigham, still remaining—from 1648 till his death in 1656. Over fifty clergy found in the dioceses of London and Norwich at the Restoration were so ordained by him. Bishop Symon Patrick in his Autobiography records his ordination, with two other Fellows of Queens' College, Cambridge, by Bishop Hall in his parlour at Heigham, April 5, 1654.

Thomas Fulwar or Fuller was himself an Essex man, son of John Fuller, Vicar of Stebbing, who died in 1643. According to Kennet, he was wild in his younger days and so disinherited by his father; but going over to Ireland (which seems to have been the equivalent of going out to the Colonies now) "he found himself under the happy necessity of being sober and industrious." He became Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe (County Kerry) in 1641; but was driven from Ireland by the rebellion of 1641, which with its accompanying massacre was the real starting-point and cause of all the subsequent sufferings of Ireland. The *Lords' Journals* V.342 (Sept. 3, 1642) record his petition for a share in the money collected last Fast Day for the Irish ministers. He had been plundered of all his estate by the rebels, whereby he and his wife and children were suffering extreme want. This was granted.

We find ordinations by him all through this period. He was greatly in request during the first few months of the Restoration, but soon returned to Ireland and became Archbishop of Cashel.

Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, had been in still closer touch with the Puritans than either Hall or Winniffe. Ordinands from East Anglia seem to have gone mostly to him after Hall's death. After his death in 1659, Bishop Henry King of Chichester was most favoured by them.

The following table gives:

- (1) The Parish where the Minister named was in 1664.
- (2) Name of Minister.

(3) Date of Ordination (usually) as Priest.

(4) The Ordaining Bishop.

(5) When first found in the above parish.

For brevity I give the Bishop as ‘ Ralph Exeter,’ “ Thomas Ardfert,” and the like.

Aldham.	John Wilson.	June 12, 1653, or Jan. 12, 1653-4.	Thos. Ardfert.	R. of Aldham June 1653; but there by 1650.
Ashdon.	Christopher Fleet.	Feb. 25, 1644-5.	Thos. Lincoln.	At Sawston, Cambs., 1650.
Ashen.	John Mayes.	Nov. 18, 1658.	Thos. Ardfert.	Stoke-by-Clare Nov. 1658.
Chappel (Pontisbright)	John Serjeant.	Sep. 26, 1656.	Thos. Ardfert.	By Aug. 1658.
Gt. Chesterford.	William Coe.	Jan. 17, 1649-50.	Robt. Kilmore.	Perhaps 1644-- certainly 1650.
Debden.	Thomas Carter.	April 27, 1651.	Robt. Kilmore.	Admitted 1652-3.
E. Donyland.	Christopher Still.	Dec. 7, 1657.	Thos. Ardfert.	Admitted 1659.
Gt. Easton.	Thomas Leader.	May 24, 1646.	Thos. Lincoln.	By 1650.
Farnham.	Giles Archer.	Dec. 9, 1642.	Thos. Durham.	Inst. 1644.
Finchingfield.	Samuel Bishop.	Nov. 9, 1655.	Thos. Ardfert.	1662.
Foxearth.	Thomas Kempe.	July 21, 1655.	Joseph Norwich.	Admitted Apl. 11, 1656.
Frinton.	Theophilus Peirse.	Sept. 13, 1659.	Ralph Exeter.	There by 1659.
Mistley and Manningtree.	John Witham.	June 17, 1647.	Thos. Ardfert.	Admitted Dec. 1647.
Pattiswick.	Samuel Wood.	Dec. 16, 1659.	Brian Sarum.	
Lt. Parndon.	Henry Wootton.	Feb. 3, 1657-8.	Henry Chichester.	Inst. 1660.
Roxwell.	Joseph Groves.	Feb. 27, 1659-60.	Brian Sarum.	
Stambourne.	Robert Cook.	May 5, 1659.	Thos. Ardfert.	1662.
Tilbury by Clare.	Ralph Garnons.	Aug. 8, 1654.	Ralph Exeter.	Admitted May 30, 1654.
Great Wigborough.	Robert Bland.	Nov. 26, 1647.	Robert Kilmore.	Admitted Nov. 26, 1647.
Willingale Doe, and Halstead.	John Redman.	Dec. 14, 1650.	Thos. Ardfert.	At W. D. by 1654.

The following cases are similiar:—

E. Donyland. Elnathan Pigott. Nov. 11, Thos. Ardfert.
1053.

(At E. Donyland 1653–1659; but at Westley, Suffolk, by 1662.)
Lindsell. Thos. Constable. Nov. 16, Thos. Ardfert.
1053.

(Some years at Lindsell, but inst. to Bradfield St. Clare, Suffolk, July 1661.)
Stifford. Daniel Latham. Dec. 12, Thos. Durham.
1044.

(Inst. Stifford, May 7, 1645; to Orsett 1653; ejected 1660; Grays Thurrock
and Lecturer All Hallows-the-Less, 1664.)

Gt. Totham. William Franklyn. Dec. 15, Robert Kilmore.
1051.

(Gt. Totham May 1652 to end of 1658. At Burnham Sutton, Norfolk, at
Visitation 1662. Possibly the Wm. Franklyn ordained *Deacon* by Bishop
Hall, May 28, 1643.)

Markshall. William Battie. July 31, Brian Sarum.
1658.

(At Markshall 1654–1658. To Alderton, Suffolk, 1659. There 1662.)

The identifications of Constable and Franklyn are not certain.
The rest seem established.

In London diocese, outside Essex, Fulwar has nine before
1660; Maxwell five, all between 1648 and 1651; Brownrigg five;
Hall three; Winniffe seven or eight; Morton one; and (not counting
those at the Restoration) Duppa five, Skinner three. No book I
have seen notices the ordinations by Hall, Winniffe, Maxwell, or
Fulwar.

The most important man so ordained is perhaps John Lake,
Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in 1664; afterwards Bishop of
Chichester, one of the "Seven Bishops." He was ordained priest
by "Thomas, Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe," Oct. 19, 1647.
Symon Patrick (St. Paul, Covent Garden, 1664; afterwards Lake's
successor at Chichester, and then Bishop of Ely) has been mentioned.
Daniel Mills, Samuel Pepys' minister, was ordained by Brownrigg
in 1655.

The number of men in Norwich diocese in 1662 who had been
ordained during the Troubles is greatly in excess of the number
in London diocese. Fulwar and Brownrigg come next to Hall in
numbers.

It is a great pity that the ordinations of men in the Archdeaconry
of Essex are so rarely given.

XIII. COMMONWEALTH CHURCH LEGISLATION.

A. PRELIMINARY: APPOINTMENTS OF CLERGY.

Until the end of January 1648-9 men appointed to all livings vacant in the ordinary ways (by death, resignation, or cession) were formally admitted to them by the registrars, *e.g.*, Drs. Heath and Aylett. While the Bishop of London's Register records no institution after October, 1646, (hence none are given by Newcourt) we have nevertheless a double record, though in both cases mixed with men of many other dioceses, down to January 1649; (a) The Subscription Book is preserved at the London Registry. What the clergy subscribed to varied as time went on; but something was subscribed by all. (b) The Bishops' Certificates were still made to the Exchequer, and are now preserved in the Public Record Office. The last of these, as said above, includes appointments to other dioceses besides London. From these two sources we get the names of practically all clergy appointed to vacant Essex livings, other than curacies or donatives, but not of course to sequestrations. Here our full source of information ends in October 1647, when Add. MS., 15671 breaks off.

But these sources fail us on the establishment of the Commonwealth; and for some four or five years, until the establishment of the "Triers," the names and dates of appointments are very obscure. We have indeed the Parochial Inquisition of September 1650, which tells us who was minister at the time, but only rarely when he came; and leaves in obscurity the longer gap until the Triers got to work.

We have, however, two partial records. (a) Add. MS. 36792 contains a list of appointments by the Commissioners of the Great Seal 1649-1653-4. This includes a number of Essex cases. (See Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society, Vol. XVIII New Series, p. 102.) (b) The Firstfruits Composition books continue to give—with apparently one gap—the names of all clergy compounding. But the composition is often long after the appointment. In the days when the money went to the Exchequer payment was much more prompt than when it went to the augmentation of poor livings.

In ordinary cases the patrons continued to present. The right of presentation is included in the returns of 1650. But in the case of livings belonging to the Crown, the Bishops, or the

like, and often in the case of delinquents, we find under the Triers the presentation made by "his Highness, Oliver, Lord Protector," sometimes under the Great Seal, at others under his "Seal Manual." Previously either the Commissioners of the Great Seal or the Council of State would exercise this right. But MS. 36792 shows in many cases careful consideration of the approval of the parishioners. It would seem as if in practice the patron often merely ratified the choice of the parishioners; there are clear cases of this in the returns of 1650. In other cases the presentee had been for some time on probation, to win the approval of the inhabitants. But in 1650 there were some cases where it was not known by what right a man came; and this must have got worse as time went on. Livings might never be filled up, the patron or churchwardens getting whom they could to preach, possibly a man of whom they knew little or nothing.

The chief Commonwealth Church Legislation was the appointment of:

- (1) The Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers (the "Triers").
- (2) The Commissioners for Ejecting Scandalous, Ignorant, Insufficient or Negligent Ministers or Schoolmasters.
- (3) The Parochial Registers.

B. THE TRIERS.

The Act for the appointment of Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers (popularly known as the "Triers") was passed March 20 1653-4 (Scobell 279; Firth & Rait II, 853). These commissioners numbered thirty-eight in all; nine, including Francis Rous, the author of the Scottish Psalter, being laymen. The best known ministers are Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, Thankful Owen, Arrowsmith, Tuckney, Horton, Caryl, Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Greenhill, Manton, Stephen Marshall, Hugh Peters, Sterry, Jessey, Obadiah Sedgwick and Daniel Dyke. Thus several members were or had been connected with Essex—Owen, Marshall, Sedgwick, Dyke. Any five were qualified to act; but nine were needed for the final rejection of a presentee. These Commissioners took the place of the Westminster Assembly, which had all along had the examination and approbation of ministers as part of its work, and in its closing years had practically nothing else. The Commissioners were to review all appointments since April 1653; all such ministers were to be approved by June 24, 1654, or else

lose their livings. This retrospective feature caused great hardship at first; there was great congestion, with many delays and adjournments. Those in possession of their livings before the above date were only affected if they were receiving or had applied for augmentations; but all future appointments came under the Commissioners. Vacant livings were to be filled up quickly, otherwise the appointment was to lapse to Cromwell. A tendency had grown up if the parish could not agree, or if the patron favoured royalists, of leaving the living unfilled, and supplying the cure temporarily. Thus this clause struck at sequestered clergy, who might act as supplies for an indefinite time, whereas they would probably have been rejected if formally presented to the living. Compare the cases of Anthony Farrington at St. Mary, Milk Street, of William Pindar at Langdon Hills, or of Nehemiah Rogers and Lawrence Washington at Little Braxted. It was expressly provided that the Triers should not approve of any minister who had ever been sequestered, without the consent of the Protector and Council. Besides a personal interview, the presentee had to bring testimonials signed by three men of known godliness and integrity, one at least of whom was to be a minister of the Gospel in some settled place. In practice, as might be expected, the great bulk of the testimonials came from ministers, and few took the risk of having only three; six was a common number, and some had more. Thus Henry Osbaston, presented to Little Ilford in 1655, was certified by *fifteen* clergy, some from London and some from West Kent whence he came. The certificate books of the Triers commonly, though not quite always, have in the margin a list of those giving testimonials, often with the names of their parishes; we can see from these what clergy were recognised as most acceptable to the authorities, and are helped to date some of them.

The certificate of the Commissioners was to be equivalent to institution and induction. Lambeth Palace Library includes five books containing either copies of such certificates or entries of their being given, from April 1654 to May 1659. One of these, for 1656, or more exactly from March 25, 1656, to March 24, 1656-7, had become separated from the rest when John Walker wrote, though he knew of its whereabouts; after being long missing it, was discovered by Dr. Jenkins, the present Librarian.

MS. 997 covers 1654 (to March 24, 1654-5); it includes many cases of men presented during the previous year, and is divided into three parts, each with separate pagination. MS. 996 covers

1655 ; 996a, 1656 ; 998, 1657 ; 999, 1658, continuing to May 4, 1659. There are of course a large number of Essex entries ; 997 has fifty-one ; 996, thirty-four ; 996a, thirty ; 998, twenty-nine ; 999, thirty-seven ; total, one hundred and eighty-one. Thus for all these years we are much better off for tracing changes among parochial clergy than in the years immediately preceding, or in 1659. Appointments to sequestered livings are included, these being now often made by the patron, unless as in other cases he was for some cause replaced by " His Highness, Oliver, Lord Protector." This prevented change being made by the patron if the sequestered minister died. But the fact that the living had been sequestered is usually though not always stated.

It is impossible to ascertain whether the Triers really rejected many presentees. On the one hand we know of very few such cases by name. On the other it is clear that many clergy were afraid of going before them. Symon Patrick, offered the living of Battersea at the suggestion of Chief Justice St. John, was much afraid of being examined and rejected by the Triers. " But," he says, " several worthy friends urging me to accept of the presentation, and one London minister promising me that he would dispose the Triers to be very favourable in their examination of me, I adventured upon it. And truly they asked me no hard questions, but chief what evidence I could give of my conversion ; and I gave them such an answer as satisfied them I was a good man, and so they admitted me ; Mr. Caryl saying when I was going away that he was once minister of Battersea, and had still such a love to them, that he desired me to have a special care of their souls." So when Thomas Fuller left Waltham Abbey for Cranford in March 1657-8 and had to pass the Triers, he said to John Howe, " You see, Sir, I am a somewhat corpulent man and I have to go through a narrow gate. I pray you, give me a shove." But Howe's name does not appear among those who certified Fuller ; his influence was probably used higher up, with Cromwell, whose chaplain he was. Some light is also thrown by a passage in Harris's life of Manton (Calamy-Palmer I, 427, Appendix) : " He was also appointed one of the Committee for trying ministers, and he seldom absented himself from that troublesome service, as he himself was heard to say, in order that he might do all in his power to keep matters from running into extremes." There were certainly a number of other moderate men on the list ; but some of them, absent from London, may have attended little.

It must be noted that with the Thiers, as well as with the Commissioners for election, the question of Orders did not crop up. They were not concerned whether a man was ordained by a bishop or by a classis of presbyters or not at all.

The following is an example of admission by the Thiers :

" Know all men by these presents, that the gentlemen, viz. of April in the
 " year One thousand six hundred and fifty nine, there was exhibited to the
 " Commissioners for Appointment of Public Preachers, a presentation of
 " Edmund Calamy the younger to the Rectory of Merton in the County of
 " Essex, made in and by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Manchester.
 " John Lord Roberts, Sir Robert Gorges, Bart. Anthony Tuckney, Doctor
 " in Divinity, Master of St. John's College in Cambridge, Thomas Bar. Clark
 " and Edmund Calamy the elder, Clerk, Resident in town of London. And
 " of Whom we received the Petition signed together with a Testimony
 " in behalf of the said Edmund Calamy of his true life and good conversation
 " signed personal and the subscription of the parishes, and finding him to
 " be a person qualified as to and by the Forme and for Appointment as required,
 " the Commissioners aforesaid remained then assembled and approved the
 " said Edmund Calamy to be a fit person to preach the Gospel, and have
 " granted him Admission and do admit the said Edmund Calamy to the
 " Rectory of Merton aforesaid, to be a full and perfect Parson and
 " Incumbent thereof, and do hereby signify to all persons concerned therein,
 " that he is lawfully admitted to the profits and perquisites, and all rights
 " and dues incident and belonging to the said rectory as fully and effectually
 " as if he had been inducted and inducted according to any laws laid and
 " returned in that behalf made formerly been made or used in that behalf.
 " In witness whereof they have caused the Common Seal to be hereunto
 " annexed, and the same to be attested by the hand of the Registrar by the
 " Highness in that behalf appointed.

" Dated at Whitehall the twentieth day of April One thousand six
 " hundred fifty and nine.

JOHN NYE, Reg.

(*Calamy's Communion*, 411-2.)

A specimen of a testimonial presented to the Thiers appears from a copy sent to the Protector and Council when application was made for the renewal of an augmentation previously granted to the ministers of East Ham to John Clarke M.A. Fellow of Pembroke Hall Cambridge, who had just been appointed to that living. (He was a son of Samuel Clarke, the biographer of St. Benedict Pinn, and had been ordained on his fellowship by the Fourth Classis of London at St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, Nov. 29, 1649.) He was admitted by the Thiers to East Ham in January 1655-6, and a petition for the renewal of augmentation was presented in April signed by eleven parsonages. Enclosed are two testimonials, one from the Master and Fellows of Pembroke Hall, the other

from eight London Ministers, the first two being Samuel Clarke and Edmund Calamy. This runs :

“ Certificate that Mr. John Clarke, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, “ is orthodox and sound in judgment, of a grave holy and blameless conversation, and endowed with qualifications fit for the work of the “ ministry.”

“ A true copy. JOHN NYE, Reg.”

(S.P.D. Interregnum, 126, 94).

There is also a certificate from Pembroke Hall, signed by the Master, William Moses, and ten Fellows.

Mr. Clarke got his augmentation, keeping it till he left in January 1659–60 for Cotgrave, Notts, whence he was ejected in 1662.

C. THE COMMISSIONERS FOR EJECTION.

The ordinance for ejecting scandalous ignorant and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters is dated August 28, 1654 (Scobell 335, Firth & Rait II, 968). In June 1657 it was renewed for three years.

Commissioners were appointed for each county, those for Essex being Dudley Templer, Dionysius Wakering, Robert Crane, John Fenning, Sir Thomas Honywood, Sir William Masham, William Masham, Junior, Henry Mildmay of Graces, Oliver Raymond, Gobert Barrington, Thomas Cooke of Pebmarsh, Carey Mildmay, Richard Harlackenden, Arthur Barnardiston, Robert Maidstone, John Brewster, John Meade, Hezekiah Haynes, Joachim Matthews, Henry Barrington, Herbert Pelham—twenty-one in all.

These Commissioners or any five of them were empowered to call up any public preacher, minister with cure of souls, lecturer with regular stipend or salary, and schoolmaster, and to receive complaints or articles against such, for ignorance, insufficiency, scandal in life or conversation, or negligence in calling or place.

The grounds of rejection for scandal in life and conversation are very mixed and without any clear arrangement. These comprehend holding or maintaining blasphemous or atheistical opinions ; profane cursing or swearing, perjury, subornation of perjury ; teaching or maintaining popish opinions ; adultery, fornication, drunkenness ; being common haunters of taverns and alehouses ; frequently quarrelling or fighting ; frequent playing at cards or dice ; profaning the Sabbath day and allowing the same in their families, or countenancing it in their parishioners



SIR THOMAS HONYWOOD, OF MARKSHALL.

or scholars ; publicly and frequently reading and using the Common Prayer Book ; publicly and profanely scoffing at or mocking the strict profession or professors of religion or godliness ; encouraging or countenancing whitsun ales, wakes, morris dances, may-poles, stage plays, or other such-like licentious practices by which men are encouraged in a loose and profane conversation ; and declaring by writing, preaching and otherwise publishing their disaffection to the present government. Thus religious and ecclesiastical scandals come from time to time among moral ones, while the last named is purely political.

Those ministers are guilty of negligence who neglect the public exercises of preaching and prayer upon the Lord's Day, not being hindered by necessary absence or infirmity of body ; also non-residents. Negligent schoolmasters are those who absent themselves from their schools or wilfully neglect their duties.

The judgment of ignorance and insufficiency was not left entirely in the hands of lay commissioners ; a number of ministers in each county were appointed as assistants, and condemnation as ignorant or insufficient could be only by at least five commissioners and at least five ministers. The Essex Assistants were John Stalham of Terling, John Willis of Ingatestone, John Sams of Coggeshall, William Sparrow of Halstead, Hugh Glover of Finch-
ingfield, Thomas Peck of Prittlewell, John Warren of Hatfield Broad Oak, Martin Holbeach of Felstead, Matthew Newcomen of Dedham—nearly all of them men of long standing.

Upon an ejection the patron was, within four months of August 28, or from the date of the ejection or sequestration, to nominate a fit and proper person to the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers ; in default, the turn was to lapse to the Protector.

If the ejected minister had not temporal estate enough to maintain his wife and children, a fifth part of the income was to be assigned him. All ministers and schoolmasters appointed by any authority of Parliament or by the present ordinance were to keep the houses and buildings of the parsonage or school in good and sufficient repair.

The Commissioners were to take a view of all benefices with cure, lectures, and schools, within the county, and of ministers and schoolmasters. If any who ought to have been approved by the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers had not

been so approved, their names were to be sent in. All sequestered or ejected ministers who had intruded into their former livings were to be removed forthwith.

Little seems, however, to have been done till the institution of the Major-Generals in August, 1655. They were ordered to take an account of what had been done under the ordinance of the previous year and see it carried into effect. Hezekiah Haynes, one of the Essex Commissioners, was Deputy-Major-General for the Eastern Counties. So in Essex the ministers were summoned to Chelmsford on Feb. 20, 1655-6. Josselin's Diary records his dislike of the proceedings. "The Commissioners therein named proceeded and began to act, calling on this day all the ministers, lecturers, curates and schoolmasters throughout the whole county to attend them at Chelmsford to give in under their hands and the churchwardens' how they held their livings and how long, which I thought was rigour, Ex. I, 14. I was there, the ways wonderfully dirty, close, but it rained not; God good to me, but my mind was vain. Mr. Sparrow preached, he commended and encouraged the Commissioners; for my part I saw no beauty in the day; neither do I joy to see ministers put under the lay power." There was a good deal of popular misconception of the purpose of the enquiry; "such is the affection of some that would be counted the first friends of God and religion [that they] hoped we should have been sent from thence to the Barbados." Possibly Josselin subsequently changed his opinion of the Commission; he notes under Jan. 8, 1657-8, "Received an order to be an Assistant in the ejecting of ministers and schoolmasters for insufficiency." An Act of the previous year had made it lawful for the Protector by and with the advice of his Council to nominate and appoint additional commissioners and assistants.

We hear, however, very little of their action. There are a few cases where ministers, who had held livings in 1650 or had been appointed later, petitioned to be restored in 1660. It would seem that these were ejected by the Commissioners, but if so we in no case know the grounds. These include Edward Clarke, Bowers Gifford; Jacob Lane, Langenhoe; John Thompson, Birdbrook. But there may well have been others ejected who had never been properly appointed to their places. But the fact remains that in Essex we hear nothing definite of the activity of the Commissioners after their meeting at Chelmsford.

D. THE "REGISTERS."

In 1653 the "Little" or "Barebones" Parliament passed an Act ordering the election in each parish of a "register" (i.e., "registerer" or registrar) to keep a book in which to enter all births, burials and notifications of intent to marry. He was to be approved and admitted by a Justice of the Peace, and to hold office for three years. Marriage was to be performed by a Justice of the Peace, upon certificate of notice of intent to marry having been thrice made publicly either in church or in market, without any opposition; no other form of marriage was to be legal. (See Firth & Rait, *Ordinances of the Interregnum*, II., 715). This Act was to come into force from Sept. 29.

From an examination of parish registers it would seem that there was quite enough reason for such an enactment. Quite apart from the difficulty of keeping registers properly during the war, or amidst frequent changes of clergy, it is clear that there were many cases of neglect, even where we should not expect it. Thus we should have expected Nathaniel Ward, with his legal training, to have been careful in keeping the registers at Shenfield; but they are so badly kept that it is only Nemesis that the date of his death can be only roughly guessed at. His successor, George Bound, keeps them very well.

It is not strictly correct to say, as is commonly done, that this Act established *lay* registrars. This was its usual effect; but there was nothing in it to prevent clergy being elected. Thus at Great Clacton, Epping, Lexden, the respective incumbents (Joseph Long, John Harper, John Whiting) were so elected; so apparently at Roydon; and at Barking and Waltham Abbey assistant curates (Thomas Cowley and Nathaniel Hatley). So later, William Richardson at Chelmsford; Jonathan Hoyle at Corringham.

Since in many parishes the first extant register begins at this point, these "registers" are commonly, but unfairly, blamed for the loss of earlier ones. But it is doubtful whether they ever had these earlier ones in their possession, although the Act provided that they should have them for reference. If they ever had them they would naturally have handed them over along with their new register-books; it is improbable that more than a very few would be lost in half a dozen years. What clearly happened in some cases, and probably in many, was that the minister at the Restoration continued the new register, leaving the old one. This might, as at Margarettng, Stock and North Weald, be taken up again when

the new book became full, or, as at Waltham Abbey, be used for lists of briefs or for miscellaneous parish notes ; but more probably would be disused entirely. Its subsequent loss would thus be due to some minister or clerk of any later date, who cared only for registers still in use. The loss of parish registers has hardly ceased yet, in spite of the care of Rural Deans. Many known to have existed in 1832 have since disappeared. The reason why in many parishes the first extant register is that started in 1653 or 1654 is simply that the earlier register, disused from that date, was easily lost at some later period.

In many registers there is a notice of the election, or of approval by the Justice of the Peace ; e.g., at Mountnessing :—

“ According to the election of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Mountnessing, I doe nominate and appoynte Edmond fuller of the sayd parish to be the Parish Register of Mountnessing aforesayd, and He was sworne by me well and truly to execute the sayd office within the says parish, and to the best of his skill and power to make a true and perfect entry of all Marriages, Births, and Burialls within the sayd parish, according to the Act of Parliament in that case made, until he shall be thence duly discharged by order of law.

PETER WHETCOMBE.

At West Ham the information is unusually full. There is first a note of the purchase of the book, 100 leaves of parchment for £1 15s., Oct. 10, 1653. But the first formal entry is :—

“ Anno Domini 1653. Whereas by an Act of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, touching marriages, births and burialls, it is in the same Act provided that a Register is to bee appointed and chosen within everie parish of the Commonwealth. And in order thereunto wee the parishioners of Westham in the county of Essex, whose names are hereunder written, have at a meeting chosen Edward Lawford for the said office as a Register, and do recommend him unto Robert Smith, Esqre, one of the Justices of the Peace for the Countie of Essex, to settle and establish him in the said office for a terme of Three years according to the said Act of Parliament is provided.
“ September 11, Anno. Di. 1653.

The names of those who did elect and give consent to the “ said choice ” [44 names] follow, headed by “ Alderman Robert Smith, Esquire, Justice of Peace,” and Jerome Rawstorne, Gent. Seven others are described as “ Gent.” Robert Smith is named in this book as taking over seventy marriages as J.P. Jerome (Jeremy) Rawstorne or Rawstorne takes over forty.

Next follows “ The Oath ” :—

“ You shall swear in the presence of God the searcher of all hearts to be true just and faithful in your office of a Publique Register, unto which

"you were chosen September 11, Anno 1653, and will neither aske demand
 "nor require anie money for Publications of Marriages, Marriages, Births,
 "nor Burialls than what is allowed and appointed by one Act of the Parli-
 "ament of the Commonwealth of England bearing date the 24th day of
 "August An. 1653, observing and keeping all things concerning your said
 "office according to the true meaning of the said Statute. Soe help you God.

"This Oath was taken by Edward Lawford, September 13, An. 1653,
 "before Alderman Robert Smith, Esquire, Justice of Peace.

(signed) ROBERT SMITH.

In many cases the "Register" started a new book, according to the terms of the Act. In such cases it seems that often the incumbent (or clerk) continued to keep the old book; this accounts for the absence in many registers, even when fairly well kept, of any notice of the new system. At Great Burstead the new and old books overlap for some months. Possibly in more cases than we know the incumbent or parish clerk was elected register, but did not think it worth while to state this. Occasionally there is notice of the election, but entries continue in the same hand as before. Sometimes there is no such notice, but a new book or new section of the old clearly proceeds from such a "register." Sometimes there is neither notice nor hint of such an appointment, yet we know from other sources that a "register" acted.

As a rule, the proverb about "new brooms" is verified. Entries are very full, at least at first. Often *baptisms* are entered either instead of *births*, or in addition to them.

- Marriages stand on a special footing. Some "registers" confined themselves strictly to their own part; they enter the dates of the publications of notice of intent to marry, but do not say whether, when, or where the marriage took place. Others give the date, but not the place, or by what Justice. But others carefully state by what Justice the marriage was performed, e.g., those of Prittlewell, Springfield and Theydon Garnon.

Banns were published much more frequently in church than in the market, though the latter was convenient if the two parties lived in different parishes, one publication serving for both. There is a curious case of the banns of a couple being published at (1) Enfield Market, (2) Chingford Church, (3) Waltham Abbey Market. They were actually married at Walthamstow; as William Conyers who performed the rite was a Serjeant-at-law, it was presumably quite legal.

The records of some parishes where a magistrate resided are sometimes of special interest. They often record all marriages

taken by him, in some cases of people from a distance ; in such cases they usually give the name of the registrar giving the certificate. Hence we get some names of "registers" of parishes where their own records are defective. In S.W. Essex the parishes thus favoured are West Ham (Justices Smith and Rawstorne), Walthamstow (Conyers); Waltham Abbey (Wollaston); and Wanstead (Thomas Smith). At Waltham Abbey Wollaston takes ninety marriages; in twenty-seven cases both parties were of other parishes.

Points on which we should like information are (1) how often this civil ceremony was preceded or followed by a religious one; (2) how often prayer was offered by a minister at the time. Both these are known to have taken place in a fair number of cases; was either at all general? In some parishes, *e.g.*, Theydon Garnon and Roydon, it is said in a fair proportion of cases that the parties were also married in church. In other cases the known presence of a minister as witness at the rite suggests that he took some part. A note in Josselin's Diary is of value—April 10, 1655: "This day the Justice and I married Peg Nevill to Butcher; the first I intermeddled with since the late Act," which had now been in force for a year and a half.

At Prittlewell the Register was Nathaniel Benson, schoolmaster. The nearest magistrates seem to have been at Hazeleigh, Ingatestone and Baddow. What would Southend people think of that now? Among the marriages entered by Benson is his own at "Hasely" Church, by Mr. Hewitson, minister of Woodham Mortimer, in the presence of Isaac Aleyn, J.P. This is the only marriage so described; elsewhere he mentions the magistrate only.

Among those thus civilly married several clergy are known; *e.g.*, Henry Osbaston of Little Ilford was married to Joyce Richards, widow of his predecessor Humphrey Richards, April 2, 1657, at Walthamstow by Serjeant Conyers. Benson enters at Prittlewell the marriage of Samuel Keeble, minister of Ashingdon (at Hasely, by Isaac Aleyn); and of Thomas Peck, minister of Prittlewell, at Stowmarket by George Groome, J.P. Richard Drake, from whom the rectory of Radwinter had been sequestered, was married to Jane Lambert before Thomas Viner, Lord Mayor, in the Guildhall, May 29, 1654, after banns thrice published in the market. Then "Matthew Smallwood, presbyter, more firmly and happily joined them in the Church of St. Martin Outwich," and they received the sacrament.

The marriage ceremony was thus laid down in the Act :—

“ The Man to be married taking the Woman to be married by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words : ‘ I, A.B., do here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee, C.D., for my wedded wife, and do also in the presence of God and before these witnesses promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband.’ And the Woman, taking the Man by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words : ‘ I, C.D., do here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee, A.B., for my wedded husband, and do also in the presence of God and before these witnesses promise to be unto thee a loving faithful and obedient wife,’ ”

The Justice was authorised in the case of dumb persons to dispense with pronouncing the words aforesaid, and with joining hands in the case of persons which have not hands.

Some interesting notices are found at Corringham. There is a long note of the election of a Register, “ Matthew Brett, the younger, an honest man and of good report,” and his approval by Jo. Sandford, J.P., 24th August, 1654. But Brett died in a few months. The entry of his burial runs : “ Matthew Brett, the son of Matthew Brett and Lucy his wife, was buried in the parish church of Corringham the 30th day of March, 1655, being Register of the same parish, being one and twenty years of age. Written by me, his sister, Susan Atwood.”

There is a further long note of the choice of his successor, Jonathan Hoyle, the rector, and his admission by Sandford. There are also some interesting entries of marriages, showing the combination of the religious with the civil. On 6th June, 1655, a couple were “ married by the Justice and minister, according to the Act.” Another couple, after return of certificate to Mr. Sandford, Justice, were by him married according to the new Act, 10th November, 1656, and at the church of Corringham 11th Novr., 1656. Another couple were “ married according to the late Act the 8th day of December 1656, and further instructed as to the duty of marriage, 9th December 1656.”

The new system did not last long. In June 1657 Cromwell's second Parliament reviewed and for the most part re-enacted a very large number of ordinances of the Little Parliament or of the Protector and Council. Thus the ordinance appointing the Triers was re-enacted, while that appointing the Commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers was continued for three years from the end of the first session of the present Parliament. But that appointing the Registers was continued only for six months

from the end of this session, and the clause declaring no other form of marriage legal was annulled at once. Hence we find no new election of registers after 1656 (except one at Chelmsford, July 3, 1657); and in 1657 notices of marriages before Justices rapidly disappear; when once they ceased to be compulsory they soon ceased altogether. This shows they can never have been really popular. Evidence is available that this kind of marriage was unpopular at the first; the normal number of marriages at Waltham Abbey was two or three a month, but there were no fewer than *ten* in September 1653; there was clearly a rush to get married before the new system came in. The same feature appears at Roxwell and West Tilbury. Marriages by a Justice were confirmed by the Act 12 Charles II, c. 33.

In some parishes the writing of the elected register continues till 1660 or even 1662. In other registers it is noted when the book was made over to the rector. At Hutton the entry runs: "The Act of the Little Parliament wherein this new way of registering was appointed continuing in force about three years, the parish Register on 23rd November in the year of our Lord 1658 delivered this book to me, Richard Golty, *hujus ecclesiae rect.*" At High Laver Samuel Borfet, appointed rector in the early spring of 1659, says he took steps at once to get the book into his hands. There is a similar note by John Reeve of Springfield, 1659.

The following list of "Registers" is very incomplete, being almost confined to the south of the county. It is drawn mainly from the registers of the parish in question, but partly from notices elsewhere (especially Walthamstow, Wanstead, and West Ham) of certificates from registrars of other parishes; and partly from miscellaneous sources. There are also a number of other parishes where we know a registrar was appointed, but do not know the name; *e.g.*, Doddinghurst, Stanford Rivers, North Weald. I have arranged the names as far as possible by the Hundreds.

* denotes *Minister*, or *Assistant*.

BARKING	..	..	*Thomas Cowley.
DAGENHAM	..	..	*Jonathan Lloyd, 1654. John Wilson.
LITTLE ILFORD	..	..	Thomas Davenport.
WALTHAMSTOW	..	..	Richard Wheeler.
WANSTEAD	..	..	Richard Perrey.
WEST HAM	..	..	Edward Lawford, 1653. Robert Grane, 1656.
HORNCHURCH	..	..	Robert Taylor.
ROMFORD	..	..	Robert Leech.

CRANHAM	William Sawkyns.
GRAYS THURROCK ..	*James Hume (Minister and Register).
SOUTH OCKENDON ..	John Williams.
WENNINGTON ..	Seth Seward.
GREAT BURSTEAD ..	Henry Sharpe.
DOWNHAM	Henry Goodwin.
FOBBING	William Hunter.
HUTTON	Henry Prior.
CORRINGHAM	Matthew Brett, Junr., 1654. *Jonathan Hoyle, 1655.
LAINDON	Isaac Gould.
PRITTLEWELL ..	Nathaniel Benson.
RAYLEIGH	William Brewster.
CHELMSFORD	Thomas Ford, 1654. *William Richardson, 1657.
HANNINGFIELD, WEST	John Drane.
MARGARETTING ..	John Nurse.
MOUNTNESSING ..	Edmond Fuller.
ROXWELL	John Bridge.
SPRINGFIELD ..	Ja. Tethrington.
STOCK AND BUTTSBURY	Jonathan Spicer, 1654. Andrew Reade, 1655.
WIDFORD	Thomas [?] Peires, Junior.
WOODHAM FERRERS..	William Badcock.
CHIGWELL	John Conyer.
HIGH LAVER	Arthur Hildersham, 1654. Oliver Johnson, 1655.
NAVESTOCK	Richard Wright.
HIGH ONGAR. ..	Ralph Lickoris.
CHINGFORD	William (John) Grimston.
EPPING	*John Harper.
NAZEING	David Leigh.
WALTHAM ABBEY ..	*Nathaniel Hatley.
BROXTED	Edmond Page.
GREAT DUNMOW ..	Samuel Gentry.
FAULKBOURN ..	*Richard Strutt.
LEXDEN	*John Whiting.
GREAT CLACTON ..	*Joseph Long.

The following names from North Essex are given me by Mr. C. F. D. Sperling :—

BULMER	*John Birde.
HALSTEAD	George Vickers (weaver).
CASTLE HEDINGHAM	John King.
OVINGTON	John Baker.
ALL SAINTS', SUDBURY	William Newman. John Doggett, 1654.
BURES	Robert Smith.

E. MISCELLANEOUS.

After the suppression of the Salisbury (Penruddock's) rising in 1655 all ministers who had once been sequestered were forbidden

to preach or teach school. But we find at once a number of petitions for exemption from this : and apparently it was soon allowed to drop out of force generally.

The case of Nehemiah Rogers and Hugh Williams may serve as examples :—

Nehemiah Rogers, "minister of the Word in Essex," petitions
 Whereas your petitioner has been heretofore sequestered from his benefice, though unheard and not for any positive delinquency or any disability or scandal, and thereby by a late Declaration of your Highness is now disabled from exercise of his ministry or accepting any benefice within this Commonwealth : your petitioner therefore prays your Highness' favourable dispensation on the premise, and that he may be permitted to preach the Gospel, he being peaceable and faithful to the present Government."

The answer is dated Whitehall, 30th June, 1650. His Highness refers it to the Major-General and Committee for securing the peace of the country, or any three of them, to inquire into the condition, conversation and qualifications of the petitioner, and the same to certify also their opinion as touching his proceedings in the exercise of his ministry in the place where he last officiated, or elsewhere, and in the meantime to stay proceedings against him upon the Declaration till further order, unless they find cause to the contrary.

To this there are two replies, apparently one from the civil authority, the other from the military, each with three signatures, both worded in the same way.

"We, whose names are subscribed, have inquired into the condition, conversation and qualification of the said Nehemiah Rogers, and do hereby certify your Highness that although he hath been heretofore sequestered, yet we are of opinion that his condition and conversation is godly and peaceable, that he is very well qualified for the work of the ministry, and that his proceedings in his exercise thereof in the place where he last officiated, or elsewhere, may by the blessing of God be for the advancement of his glory. All which nevertheless we humbly submit to your Highness.
 "20 August, 1656."

The first of these certificates is signed Tho. Honeywood, Robert Crane, Go. Barrington. The second by He. Haynes, and two others.

On 7th October the Council ordered that Mr. Rogers be permitted to preach, notwithstanding the Proclamation. (He had been at St. Osyth since 1650 ; in the year 1650 he got the living of Doddington.)

On 28th October the Council dealt with the case of Hugh Williams, sequestered from Fornsett, Norfolk, but now teaching

school at Leyton ; it is not clear whether he ever were officially minister of that parish. Six Commissioners in Essex certify that several ministers and others of good repute attest his piety, diligence and good affection to the State, and his non-compliance with the contrary interest, and are satisfied that his ministry may be serviceable. The Commissioners of the county are to consider the certificate and to allow him to preach if they think fit.

Not much was done in Essex, in contrast with some other counties, either in amalgamating parishes or in forming new ones. There are a few cases of two parishes being held together, but there was no formal or permanent amalgamation. Hardly any of the proposals made in 1650 got any further.

In the Lambeth MS. 991 there are just a few cases from Essex. The union of Great and Little Chishall was proposed, and a new survey ordered (July-November 1655). It was also proposed to unite Rickling and Quendon.

Harwich was actually in 1656 separated from Dovercourt. On 19th February, 1654-5 the Mayor (Richard Hankin), five aldermen, and inhabitants petitioned the Protector thus :—

"In our borough are 1000 persons capable to attend worship, besides "strangers flocking to one of the greatest shipping ports ; yet we have no "established preacher. In the corrupt times of the late King we were "joined to Dovercourt, a mile off, and the vicar preached at each place "once on the Lord's Day ; but this led to profaneness, tippling and gaming "in both places. We beg to have a godly divine of our own settled among "us." (Cal. State Papers Dom. XCIV, 81.)

This was referred to the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers, who reported in favour of the petition, 8th November, 1655. Considering that Dovercourt is more than a mile and three-quarters from Harwich, and the ways very dirty in winter, and that Dovercourt vicarage is of £25 a year value ; and having before them the petition of the Mayor and inhabitants of Harwich, and of Tho. Tookey, minister of Dovercourt, and considering that the Harwich people undertook to provide for their minister without charge to the public, they judge that they should be distinct parishes, but that the minister of Harwich be presented by the patron of Dovercourt.

This was followed by a further petition from the Mayor and inhabitants to the Protector, stating that they have engaged to allow a competent maintenance to Alex. Pringell, their elected

minister, who is able and faithful, by a rate of 2s. in the £ on the houses. They beg him to maintain his election and confirm the division, and to grant that the future elections may be in the hands of the inhabitants (CIL., 24, 51, 52).

See also Lambeth MS. 991, 2, 3, 4, 10—where date of separation is given as 25 October 1655; and 993, 316, 3rd November, 1657, where it is stated that upon the division augmentation of £15 was granted to Mr. Tookey, who died about Christmas, 1656, his widow, Frances, providing for the cure till the following Michaelmas.

The Little Parliament ordered the building of a meeting house in the Forest in the parish of Barking. Col. Matthews and Mr. Brewster, the two local members, were to see to it. (1653, 9th September and 27th November, C.J. VI.)

A Bill for separating Havering and Romford from Hornchurch, constituting three separate parishes, nearly passed Cromwell's second Parliament. It went through Committee and was ordered to be engrossed.

XIV. THE EJECTIONS OF 1660 AND 1662.

There was a great ejection of clergy at the Restoration in 1660. The number so ejected in Essex seems to have been somewhere about seventy. These fall into two classes, but in neither class were the ejections on account of doctrine, or for refusal to use the Prayer Book, or for not being episcopally ordained; in all cases it was held that the minister had no real title to the living.

The most common case was that of a minister in a benefice sequestered from another minister still living. At first any one taking such a benefice knew well enough that he had no absolute title to it; in the event of the death of the sequestered minister the patron was quite free to present an entirely new man. Latterly this had become obscured by the patron being allowed to present to a sequestration, and we hear of a minister so appointed being quite unaware that a sequestered predecessor was still living. Making these sequestrations permanent proved a fatal mistake. Except where the sequestration was on *serious* moral grounds, when once the war was well at an end sequestered clergy might well have been allowed under proper safeguards to return to their livings if a vacancy occurred there, or at least to be freely presented to others. Gauden saw the desirability of this last, and urged it in writing to Bernard as a thing which would do much to bring about

unity in the Church; Bernard sent his letters to Thurloe (Thurloe Papers V., 598—1656), but nothing was done. When at the Restoration it was proposed to restore the sequestered clergy, the Presbyterians naturally wished to exclude all those sequestered for misconduct, but it was now too late; as all alike had been excluded, all alike were restored. There are extant a number of petitions from sequestered clergy to the House of Lords; in some cases they at once returned to their parishes, seeking to evict the intruders; in others they sought the aid of the Law.

The result was that by an Act of the Convention Parliament (12 Charles II., c. 17) practically all were legally restored. Its title is "An Act for Confirming and Restoring of Ministers"; it received the Royal Assent September 13, 1660. Its preamble runs: "Forasmuch as the confirming of some ecclesiastical persons
"and ministers in possession and restoring of others who had been
"sequestered or ejected and are fit to be restored in and to their
"several ecclesiastical benefices, livings and promotions without
"force or suit of law will much conduce to the peace and welfare
"of this Church and Kingdom. . . ."

Its main provisions were:—

(1) Every ecclesiastical person or minister, ordained by any ecclesiastical person or minister before December 25 last, aged 24, and not having renounced his ordination, who has since Jan. 1, 1642, been presented to or placed in any living void by death, resignation, or other avoidance, and has actually possessed it and received the profits, and who was in possession on Dec. 25 last, shall be adjudged to be the lawful incumbent, as if he had been regularly presented, instituted and inducted in due form of law, and subscribed the Articles. This holds good even of livings in the gift of the King or of the hierarchy.

(2) Every ecclesiastical person or minister, formerly sequestered or ejected after lawful presentation and enjoyment of the profits, who has not subscribed any petition to bring the late King to trial, nor openly justified his murder, nor shown himself to be against infant baptism, shall be restored to his living by Dec. 25 next. Any one ejected from two livings shall be restored to whichever he may choose. But the minister to be restored may confirm the present possessor. (This seems to have been done by Fuller at Broadwindsor and possibly by Jordan at Cranham.)

Ministers refused admission by the Triers except on lawful grounds were to be admitted.

But those in present possession of livings who had urged the King's trial or justified his murder, or were against infant baptism, were to be ejected and their livings filled up just as if they were dead.

Thus the general effect was that all in possession who had been ordained in any way and had succeeded to a living properly vacant, were confirmed in possession, unless they had supported the King's execution or were opposed to infant baptism. It is worth noting that *Episcopal* ordination was not required, but that Baptists were regarded as outsiders; they were often classed with Quakers rather than with Independents. On the other hand, with the same restriction, all who had been sequestered or ejected were to be restored.

But notwithstanding the Act many ejections in 1660 were not from sequestrations; they were due to the minister so ejected having been presented by someone who was held at the Restoration not to have been the lawful patron. Livings in the gift of the Crown, or of Bishops, or Deans and Chapters, had been usually filled either by the Parliament (or the House of Lords) or by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and later by "his Highness Oliver, Lord Protector." In other cases the patronage had been usurped by the parishioners. Such appointments were held at the Restoration to have been invalid; thus there had been no true appointment since the death of the last lawful minister, and the presentation therefore lapsed to the Crown. Some clergy sought to secure themselves by a new presentation and institution; in this some, *e.g.*, Overed of Toppesfield, failed, while Sherman of Bradwell seems to have held his own. Of College appointments, some held good; others, *e.g.*, Malachi Harris of Navestock and apparently Way of Barking, did not; probably it largely depended on the judgment of the restored Fellows. Probably the bulk at least of these ejections preceded the passing of the Act.

The entries in many of these cases in the Bishop's Register, followed by Newcourt, are technically correct, but misleading. A man is presented in 1660 to a living "vacant by the death of A.B." One naturally supposes that "A.B." had died within the last few months, but in some cases he had been dead for years, and there had been a fresh appointment in the meanwhile, which was now rejected as invalid. Wanstead appears an instance of this, though with peculiar features. Thomas Harrison, M.A., was appointed to the living 10th December, 1660 "vacant by the

death of Humphrey Maddison." But Maddison had died in 1653, and had been succeeded by Paul Amiraute (Amarott), May 1654; he went to Norfolk in 1656, being succeeded by Leonard Hoar, presented (1) by Sir Henry Mildmay, the regicide, and (2) by the Protector. Hoar was ejected in 1660. So, Edward Rust was appointed in 1660 to East Ham, vacant by the death of Dr. Fairfax. But Fairfax, the sequestered minister, had died in 1655; John Page was then presented to the living, and a few months after, Page having gone to Norfolk, John Clarke, who went to Cotgrove, Notts, in 1659-60. But no appointment since Fairfax was formally recognised at the Restoration.

A case of re-institution appears at North Weald. Newcourt has Nathaniel Eyre, Aug. 28th, 1660, vacant by death of Simon Lynch. But Lynch died in 1656, after an incumbency of 64 years; and Eyre paid Firstfruits the same year. (He is also named in his own registers as Vicar in 1656, and in the Theydon Garnon registers as minister of North Weald in 1657.) Hence it is clear that Eyre's institution in 1660 was simply by way of precaution.

Appointments by private patrons during the Troubles, except to sequestrations, almost always held good in 1660. Wanstead seems the only exception; even there Hoar had been twice presented, once by Cromwell. But there is some obscurity about a few places. Newcourt has a list of some twenty incumbents appointed at definite dates during the Interregnum, which he avowedly took from the Visitation Book of 1664. He has a much larger number where he does not know the date of the appointment, which, however, we know from other sources to have been in this period. (These include some ejected in 1662; all those so ejected held their livings by a title recognised as good in 1660, or else had been regularly appointed since the Restoration. In any case their title was just as good as that of those who conformed.)

Taking the letters D.—H. in Newcourt, we find the following men appointed during the Interregnum keeping their livings at the Restoration. (Dates obtained from other sources are given in brackets.)

DAGENHAM :	Frederick Tilney.	(Feb. 7, 1654-5.)
DANBURY :	Richard Man.	(Apr. 21, 1652.)
DEBDEN :	Thomas Carter.	Feb. 16, 1652-3.
EAST DONYLAND :	Christopher Sill.	Apr. 22, 1659.
EASTON MAGNA :	Thomas Leader, S.T.P.	(by 1650).
ELMDON :	John Bradgate.	(Apr. 9, 1656.)
FAULKBOURN :	Richard Strutt.	(Jan. 4, 1646-7.)

FINCHINGFIELD :	Hugh Glover.	(May, 1654.)
FOXEARH : :	Thomas Kempe.	Apr. 30, 1656.
FRATING :	Augustine Underwood.	Dec. 15, 1658.
FRYERNING :	John Peake.	Aug. 14, 1657.
FRINTON :	Theophilus Peirse.	1659.
GINGRAVE : =Ingrave	John Willis.	Aug. 22, 1656.
GOSFIELD :	Thomas Wardener.	" by Act of Parliament."
HADLEIGH :	Samuel Bull.	(Aug. 17, 1655.)
HEYDON :	Stephen Chappel.	Dec. 20, 1652.
HALLINGBURY MAGNA :	William Hales.	June 1, 1654.
HEYBRIDGE :	Richard Reddrich.	(by 1650.)
HORNDON, EAST :	John Browne.	(Aug. 25, 1658.)
HORNDON, WEST :	John Willis.	Sept. 23, 1656.
HORNDON ON THE HILL :	John Davis.	(Feb. 16, 1658-9.)
HUTTON :	Richard Goltie.	(May, 1654.)
HORNCHURCH :	Michael Wells.	(July, 1658.)

Thus under these five letters we find ministers of 23 parishes appointed during the Interregnum retaining their livings at the Restoration. The appointments of ten are dated by Newcourt ; the rest are gathered from other sources. There are, of course, a much larger number of similar cases in parishes beginning with other letters, *e.g.*, Henry Osbaston, Little Ilford ; John Pease, Little Burstead ; John Fordham, West Tilbury ; Thomas Cox, Great Waltham ; Daniel Weld, Rochford ; Martin Alderson, Latchingdon ; Samuel Hall, Great Bardfield ; Ralph Garnons, Tilbury-by-Clare ; or, in the Tendring Hundred, the incumbents of Little Bentley, Mistley, Moze, Tendring.

The Act of Uniformity came into force August 24th, 1662 (St. Bartholomew's Day). There is no need here to go through the Act, which is fairly accessible, being given in Gee and Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, and in *Documents Relating to the Act of Uniformity*. It is also often found in large Prayer Books for the Church Desks. Nor is this the place to discuss its merits or demerits. The chief requirements to which Puritans could not bring themselves to conform were a declaration that it was not lawful under any pretence whatever to take arms against the King ; a repudiation of the Solemn League and Covenant, which was declared an unlawful oath ; and the requirement of episcopal ordination. Not all would feel the same difficulties ; nearly all men of forty-four and upwards would have been ordained by bishops, and many young men had never taken the Covenant. But the greatest obstacle was the requirement of a declaration of "unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common

Prayer." From the context this might fairly be taken as simply a consent to *use* it fully ; the minister was to read Morning and Evening Prayer, and then openly and publicly before the congregation thus assembled declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said book contained and prescribed [in the above words]. In a subsequent bill the Lords inserted a clause declaring this to be the meaning of the declaration of assent ; but the Commons would not accept this, and it was dropped. But this was the interpretation which Bishop Morley gave to Samuel Sprint when he sought to get him to conform (Calamy, *Account* 341). But it is not the *primâ facie* view of the Declaration, which is most extravagant if taken literally.

In the register of Doddinghurst is a " Certificate that Francis Durham conformed to the ordinances of the Act of Uniformity, 1662."

" Wee whose names are hereunder written certify that upon the
 " seventeenth day of August One thousand Six hundred sixty and
 " two (being Sunday) Francis Durham, Rector of the Parish of
 " Dodinghurst in the County of Essex did openly publickly and
 " solemnly read morning and evening Prayer in such order and
 " forme as is contained in the Common Prayer Booke which was
 " set forth and authorized by the King and Parliament in the said
 " year 1662 . . . And that he did this at the times appointed
 " by the said Booke, and after such Reading did openly and pub-
 " lickly before the Congregation assembled in the Church of
 " Dodinghurst aforesaid declare his unfeigned assent and consent
 " to the use of all things in the said book contained and prescribed,
 " and according to the forme of words therein enjoyned, viz., ' I
 " Francis Durham do hereby declare . . . ' [as in the words
 " of the Act]. And we likewise testify that the said Francis
 " Durham did at the same time and in the same place publicly
 " read a Certificate under the hand of the Chancellor of the Bishop
 " of London certifying his subscription to the Declaration or
 " acknowledgement following" [as above, on the absolute
 unlawfulness of taking arms against the King and repudiation
 of the Covenant].

This Certificate is signed by Anthony Luther and six other parishioners.

MS. Rawlinson, B. 375, contains a long list of similar subscriptions to non-resistance and repudiation of the Covenant, taken before Bishop Sheldon. These include many Essex clergy.

A number of men already in charge of parishes were ordained by bishops in 1660-1662 ; in particular Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway and afterwards of Orkney, ordained some twenty-four Essex clergy. Sheldon ordained two just before St. Bartholomew's Day ; John Beard of Berden and Francis Hill of High Roding, August 21st.

It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Nonconformists in 1662. The traditional number for the whole country is two thousand, and this is probably sufficiently accurate, though perhaps slightly below the true figure. On the one hand, the lists for some counties are probably incomplete ; but on the other there are certainly some duplicates, and a large number of men of whom nothing seems known beyond the name. Some of them may well be duplicates, while others probably conformed, at least ultimately.

There has always been confusion between those ejected in 1660 from sequestrations (or, in some cases, as not presented by the lawful patron), and those ejected in 1662 for nonconformity. This confusion has been utilised and increased by partisans on either side. Anglicans have commonly given the term "intruders" to those ejected in either year, whereas it really only applies to those ejected in 1660 ; those ejected in 1662 were holding their livings by just as good a title as those who conformed. Some of these men had been presented to them long before the Troubles (*e.g.*, Beadel of Barnston, Stalham of Terling, Peck of Prittlewell, Willis of Ingatestone). On the other hand Free Churchmen have tended to regard all those ejected in both years as ejected for conscience' sake, which does not apply to those of 1660 ; or to speak of all the nonconformists of 1662 as *ejected from livings* at that date.

There is a further difficulty as regards those who did not conform then, but did so later, perhaps within a few weeks or months, or perhaps some years after. Should these be reckoned with the nonconformists or not ? It would seem that all ought to be, but with some distinguishing note. Calamy usually simply names them in a separate list, but occasionally puts one of them with the rest, or gives some detail.

Calamy had (when drawing up his "Account") a list of nonconformists in London, Essex and several other counties, published in 1663. This list, as regards Essex at least, honestly seeks to distinguish those ejected in 1660 from those in 1662 ; but there was confusion even thus early. Later lists naturally increase

this. If a man were ejected from one living in 1660 and from another in 1662, he might easily be given twice over. There were a number of such cases in Essex in Calamy's first edition (the "Abridgement"). In his later editions he guarded carefully against this and corrected nearly all such cases. But a very few remain when a name was spelled quite differently on two lists, or where a man moved from one county to another. Thus a few Essex names ought probably to disappear as duplicates. (*See below.*)

Again, in many counties, notably Essex and Suffolk, many names (usually only surnames) occur without any fuller information. Calamy obviously took them from one of his lists, but knew nothing more about them. The presumption is that either they died not long after, or moved into another neighbourhood and were lost sight of. In such cases, if they preached they may be given again elsewhere, as above; otherwise they must either have conformed, or have lived simply as laymen. This class probably includes many lost sight of after the ejections of 1660, some of whom may have conformed as early as 1662.

As regards Essex, the nonconformist list of 1663 is really a combination of two distinct lists, a larger and a smaller, many names being repeated. Both distinguish 1660 from 1662. The longer list has first one hundred and twelve names, then nineteen out of sequestered livings, total 131. Then, after a line drawn marking the end of this list, come eleven names, six identical with names immediately above; then "ministers ejected under the Act," *i.e.*, of 1662, fifty-two in number, perhaps all already included in the first list.

But there is one striking difference between the two lists. The second, except for a few misprints (P. and S. being confused) is extremely accurate in the spelling of names of both persons and places; the first is so inaccurate that it almost looks as if the names had been taken down from dictation by someone quite unfamiliar with them. Here and there comes quite a puzzle, *i.e.*, Parkin of Thaxted is hardly recognisable as Barker of Thalsterd. There is clearly one duplicate, Clarke of Cone Eger being identical with Clarke of Gainesclue. This suggests the possibility of another—Lax of Boxted and Carre of Boxted (see below).

The list, even when both are combined, calls for some reduction, as Calamy recognised. A few names are of Suffolk or Herts. men: Hovel of Wicklow, Mocket of Gilson, Crow of Hundon. Also a few

men are included who kept their livings somehow, being perhaps overlooked. Josselin of Earls Colne is the most conspicuous case; his Diary does not clear this up. There are also Wells of Hornechurch, Clifton of Ramsden Bellhouse. It is noted that Smith of Sandon, Carnal of Hanvill South Hammingfield and Ludgater of Witham were dead. "Wray" of Ridgwell is marked "very poor." In one or two cases they are not sure of the name; we find "Mr. . . . that married Mr. Glover's daughter." "Mr. Kneightly of Neer London," may be Keightley of Aldborough Hatch, or else of "Nether Laindon."

In comparing Calamy with Walker, we must bear in mind that Walker brought out only one edition, though he collected some materials and made some notes for a second. Calamy may be said to have brought out *three* editions, and was very careful in correcting and enlarging the later ones. Hence naturally he has ultimately fewer mistakes than Walker. There are, however, a few cases where a man is just named in Essex, but entered also, sometimes more fully, under another county.

The clearest of these is "Little Hollingborough, Mr. Waters." This is certainly Thomas Waterhouse, recorded much more fully under Ash (Ashbocking), Suffolk, where it is said he had held a Charterhouse living near Bishop Stortford. This exactly suits *Little Hollingborough*, where other sources show the minister in the sequestration from 1657-8 till 1660, when ejected, to be *Thomas Waterhouse*.

Other cases are not quite so clear. Calamy has, "Ugley, Mr. Lucas." John Lucas was at Ugley by 1650, but left for Stalham, Norfolk, in 1658. James Malden came to Ugley in 1659. Lucas is noticed more fully under Stalham.

Mark Mott was ejected from Chelmsford in 1660. He is probably the same as Mark Mott ejected from Great Wrattling, Suffolk, in 1662. Two sons of Mark Mott, a minister, who entered Caius College, Cambridge, in 1650 and 1662 respectively, had been born and educated at Chelmsford. In the second case the father is of Great Wrattling.

I strongly suspect that "Mr. Lax" ejected from Boxted, is identical with "Mr. Carre" ejected from the same place. "Lax" and "Car" might easily be confused, and while much is known of Nathaniel Carr, one of the oldest of the nonconformists, Langenhoe

1618-1644, Ardleigh 1644-1655, Boxted 1655-1662, nothing seems known of Lax. But as Carre was an aged man, Lax *may* have been the curate.

James Small assigned in Calamy to *Yaxley* (and by Davids to *Yaxley, Suffolk*) was really of *Takeley*, where he came in 1659.

Calamy gives six names of men who subsequently conformed. But one of these, John Houell or Smith of "Wickelshaw" is of Suffolk, not Essex; he succeeded Waterhouse at Ashbocking.

Nehemiah Holmes was ejected from Writtle in 1660, but remained as curate till the end of 1661, when he got the living of Matching, where he conformed.

John Harper, ejected from Epping in 1660, either remained as curate or became minister of the chapel in Epping town. He was licensed 9th December, 1661; subscribed 2nd September, 1662. Thus any nonconformity can have lasted little over a week.

Daniel Latham, ejected from Orsett, where he was from 1652 (on death of Dr. Styles) till 1660, was in trouble for preaching at Grays in 1662. But by 1664 he had conformed and was Vicar of Grays, but in trouble for non-residence (he had a London lectureship). By 1669 he was P.C. of Highgate.

Francis Hill, ejected from High Roding in 1660, came back as Rector Feb. 6th, 1663-4. As he was ordained priest by Bishop Sheldon of London, Aug. 21st, 1662, it would seem he conformed at once.

Samuel Ferris, ejected from Norton Mandeville in 1662, went to Good Easter in 1668.

Thus it would seem as if Holmes and Hill conformed at once; Latham and Harper very soon. The confusion between 1660 and 1662 is at work.

But several others might be added to the list.

Anthony Walker was admitted to Fyfield in 1650, when he compounded for firstfruits. On Sept. 26th, 1662, he was again instituted and paid firstfruits again. This looks as if he did not conform at the right time, so that the living was declared vacant; but conformed before it was filled up.

Hugh Burnaby (Burnby, Barnaby) ejected from South Ockendon in 1660, was instituted to Gumley, Leicestershire, in October. He was rector of Asfordby, Leicestershire, in 1676.

Nicholas Greene, ejected from Runwell in 1660, became Rector of East Hanningfield in 1663.

Samuel Crossman of Little Henny and All Saints, Sudbury (from 1650) became ultimately Dean of Bristol.

David Foules of Nevendon, was not ejected, but left on appointment by the Bishop of London to Paddington, "two miles from the City of Westminster" (Nevendon Register). Calamy misread Newcourt.

The case of John Halke of Upminster is very peculiar. Sequestered apparently in 1646, he was restored in 1660, but was ejected for nonconformity in 1662. Died 1678.

CLERGY EJECTED 1660 AND 1662.

(1) This list is intended merely to *supplement* the accounts of Calamy, Palmer and Davids; hence it omits much of interest given by them. I have usually given references to them wherever they have more than the bare name. I have paid special attention (a) to notices of University, College and Degree. But in some cases the identity is not certain; in others there are too many of the same name and approximate date to make identification possible. Hence I can sometimes attach no degree to a man who in all probability had one. I have used for Cambridge mainly Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* and *Matriculations and Degrees*, as well as (printed) College Admission Registers; for Oxford, Foster's *Alumni*. The prominence of Emmanuel College, an Essex and Puritan foundation, is most conspicuous.

(b) Also to the history of these men *before* the Restoration, especially the benefices held by them. Notices of them *after* their ejection, except as regards the licenses of 1672, are only incidental.

(2) This is not a list of *Nonconformists* as such. It seeks to include all those ejected in 1660; these were ejected for defective title, not for conscientious scruples. Many of these are known not to have conformed in 1662, but some are known to have conformed either then or later, while of many nothing more is known. Many of these occur in the Nonconformist list of 1663; but the occasional inaccuracies of this list in known cases, mostly corrected by Calamy, make it an insecure guide for those otherwise unknown. Probably, however, some of those I name had really died or left before the Restoration, while others were ejected of

whom I know nothing. Our information for 1659 is very defective. Parish registers may throw more light in some cases.

A reliable list of Nonconformists, as such, should include all those and only those *known* to have been ejected or silenced in 1662; the fate of any in 1660 does not count. This, however, would probably be far below the true number. But strictly, none who died before August 24th, 1662, should be included.

My attempted discrimination is as follows :—

- (a) denotes an ejection in 1660.
- (b) one in 1662.
- (c) denotes that it not clear that the minister was *beneficed* in 1662; it includes a few cases where he was clearly only an assistant. The same sign in a few cases denotes ejection from a benefice *outside* Essex, after an ejection from an Essex one in 1660; *e.g.*, Mark Mott, Thomas Dearsley, Thomas Waterhouse, Benjamin Way. Failure to discriminate such cases leads to their being counted twice over, in different counties.
- * denotes nonconformity in 1662; it is unnecessary to attach this sign to those already marked (b).
- † denotes conformity in 1662 or later.
- *† denotes that the minister did not conform in August, 1662, but did so later, in some cases very soon, in others after some years.

Thus the number of nonconformists in 1662 may be gathered by combining (a)* with (b), though only these last were *ejected* from *livings* then.

My approximate results are :—

Ejected from Essex benefices for nonconformity in 1662 ..	72
Ejected from Essex benefices in 1660; did not conform 1662 (some few of these were ejected from benefices outside Essex, 1662)	29
Unbeneficed not included above, silenced 1662	4
Total <i>known</i> Nonconformists 1662	105

A few of these subsequently conformed.

Ejected 1660, known to have conformed	21
Ejected 1660, who died before Aug. 24, 1662, or whose conformity or nonconformity is unknown	20

Probably a large proportion of these were nonconformists.

Total ejected in 1660, <i>perhaps</i>	70
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But there are a few uncertainties under each item.

The dates of ordination of conformists, taken from the Visitation Book of 1664, are in nearly all case to *Priest's Orders*. In many cases the men were probably previously in Presbyterian orders. They may have regarded ordination by a bishop as a repudiation of these ; or equally probably as a supplement of them, required for continued public ministry under the new conditions. Venn's *Alumni* gives the date of ordination of others, especially in Peterborough diocese.

- (b) ABBOTT, ROBERT, M.A. Ejected from Stansted Montfichet 1662.

Apparently of Jesus College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1632-3 ; M.A. 1636. Appointed to Vicarage of Stansted July 23, 1647, void by cession of Richard Ward. (Lords' Journals IX., 348). Also May 27, 1650, by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, "void by lapse or otherwise, ad corrobor. titulum." Signed Essex Testimony 1648. Ejected 1662.

Calamy Cont. 475 ; Palmer 218 ; Davids 473.

- (b) ANDERTON, PHILIP, M.A. Ejected from Leyton 1662.

Of Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1649-50 ; M.A. 1653. Of Salop. Vicar of Leyton 1651 (examined and approved by Assembly Aug. 14). Entries of several children in registers. Ejected 1662 ; died Aug. 27, 1669.

Calamy Cont. 475 ; Palmer 206 ; Davids 418-420.

- (c) ANGEL, MR.

Down in 1663 and later lists as ejected from Stebbing. Perhaps a curate to Bantoft ; not identifiable.

- (a) ANGIER, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Asheldham 1660.

Of St. John's College, Cambridge ; admitted 1649 ; son of Edmund Angier, clothier ; born at Stratford (St. Mary), Suffolk ; school, Dedham. B.A. 1651-2 ; M.A. 1657. (But there are several of the name slightly earlier).

To sequestrated R. of Asheldham July 9, 1658 (Lambeth MS. 999, 67) by Protector under Great Seal. As certificates are all from neighbourhood, had probably been there some time already. Ejected 1660. Probably R. Peldon 1674-89 ; Inworth 1678-89 ; died 1689.

- (a)* ARCHER, THOMAS. Apparently ejected from Chickney 1660.

Put into R. of Chickney, sequestered from William Mitchell,

about 1645. In June 1646 Mitchell complained that the sequestrators supplied "one Archer, a layman and anabaptist" (Add. MS. 15670, 105). Archer paid Mrs. Mitchell her fifth part, £12, in 1650. Apparently ejected 1660, as a new R. is instituted in June.

See Davids, 359.

- (b) ARGOR, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Braintree 1662.

Of Queens' College, Cambridge; B.A. 1623-4; M.A. 1627. Born at Layer Breton. P.C. Layer de la Haye, Nov. 1632, still there in 1637. R. Leigh Feb. 12, 1639-40. On Classis; signs Essex Testimony 1648 and Essex Watchmen's Watchword Feb. 1648-9. To V. Braintree, void by death of Samuel Collins, Oct. 16, 1657, presented by Robert, Earl of Warwick (Lambeth MSS. 998, 113). Ejected 1662, stayed at Braintree as schoolmaster till passing of Five Mile Act, then settled at Copford, where he took out a license in 1672. Died 1679; buried at Copford.

Calamy Acc. 304, Cont. 465-6; Palmer 188f; Davids 354-6.

- (a) BACKLER, JAMES. Ejected from Brightlingsea 1660.

One of the name matriculated at Cambridge (Jesus College) in 1631. Ordained D. Dec. 20, 1640; P. Feb. 25, 1642-3 at Norwich. C. of Butley, Suffolk. V. of Brightlingsea by 1650.

One of the name was presented to Pickworth, Rutland, Dec. 1653; admitted June 1654, with certs. from ministers of Alresford, Thorrington, and Bentley. But Backler was still at Brightlingsea 1658. Either he soon returned, or the new minister of Pickworth may have been a son.

Ejected 1660.

(To be distinguished from *Samuel* Backler of Suffolk, who settled at Dedham.)

- (b) BANTOFT, SAMUEL, M.A. Ejected from Stebbing 1662.

Of Suffolk. Emmanuel College, Cambridge; B.A. 1641; M.A. 1645. Fellow of Jesus 1644-50; ejected. To V. Stebbing Aug. 4, 1654 (presented July 2 by John Sorrell) (Lambeth MSS. 997, ii., 119). At Burstall, Suffolk, 1650. Ejected 1662. At Braintree in 1672, where he took

out a license. Afterwards at Ipswich. Died Aug. 21, 1692, æt. 73.

Calamy, Acc. 310 ; Cont. 485 ; Palmer 219 ; Davids 475.

(Calamy says he was B.D., but this does not appear in Venn's *Matriculations and Degrees*.)

- (b) BASTWICK, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Great Parndon 1662.

Perhaps of Magdalen Hall, Oxford ; B.A. 1652 ; M.A. 1655. But the Triers speak of him as " the elder." Another of King's and Trinity, Cambridge, B.A. 1653 ; M.A. 1656. To R. of Great Parndon Mar. 24, 1657-8 (Lambeth MSS. 998, 215). Ejected 1662.

Davids 440.

- (b) BEDLE (BEADLE), JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Barnston 1662.

Probably of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge ; B.A. 1616-7 ; M.A. 1620. Born at Bramford, Suffolk. Ordained D. May 31, 1618, London, aged 22. Rector of Little Leighs Dec. 13, 1623 (Bishop's Cert.). Rector of Barnston May 31, 1632. See letter of Samuel Collins, S.P.D. 216, 207, dated May 31. In trouble with Laud 1633. Nominated on Classis. First signature to the *Testimony*, apparently started round Dunmow, 1648. Ejected 1662. Died May 5, buried May 11, 1667.

Calamy Acc. 301, Cont. 460-1 ; Palmer 188 ; Davids 346-8.

- (b) BENSON, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Little Leighs 1662.

Probably of Peterhouse, Cambridge. B.A. 1635-6 ; M.A. 1639. Ordained D. (Norwich) May 24, 1635. To R. of Bradwell by Coggeshall, seq. from George Crackenthorpe, 1644 ; left in 1647 (Add. MSS. 15671, 217). R. Little Leighs July 22, 1647 (subscription and Bishop's Cert.). Ejected 1662. Succeeded at Little Leighs by a namesake, probably a son, who held it till 1671, when he moved to Rochford. (Probably of Queens' College, B.A. 1660-1, M.A. 1664.) Settled at Writtle, where kept school. Chewning Blackmore, son of William Blackmore, was there in 1672. Took out license 1672. Died at Great Baddow 1682 (Calamy).

Calamy Acc. 309, Cont. 484 ; Palmer 205 ; Davids 417-8.

- (c) BIGLEY, JOHN. P.C. White Colne.

He came there after 1650, probably after 1655. Calamy says that it being a donative, he kept his living without con-

forming. He attended the Visitation of 1664. But he is probably the "Mr. B." of Stockton's diary who had trouble with the soldiers in 1665; and, still at White Colne, he took out a license in 1672. Newcourt, however, identifies him, probably wrongly, with John Brigglin or Bigley, present curate, 1700.

Calamy Acc. 309; Cont. 483; Palmer 224; Davids 377.

- (a)* BILLIO (BILLERO, BILLOWAY), ROBERT. Ejected from Wickham Bishops 1660.

Born at Sible Hedingham; educated at Castle Hedingham (Calamy). Probably the Robert Billero who entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1648. Calamy has a long account of him, but precise dates are uncertain. He was for some years at West Bergholt, perhaps 1651-8; he gives a certificate there in 1655-6, and a new appointment was made in 1658. At Hatfield Peverel in 1658; thence to Wickham Bishops, probably in 1659. It being a Bishop's living, he would be ejected in 1660, a new appointment being made Jan. 1660-1. But very probably he remained as curate till 1662. Thence to Yeldham and Felsted (Calamy) or perhaps Stebbing, where he took out a license in 1672. Died at Felsted April 19, 1695 (Calamy).

Calamy Acc. 308, Cont. 478f; Palmer 225f; Davids 512f.

- (a)* BLAIKLING, RICHARD, M.A. Ejected from Pebmarsh 1660.

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted there 1645, county Yorkshire; son of Thomas Blaikling, "agricola"; school, Sedbergh. B.A. 1648-9; M.A. 1652. Fellow 1650. R. of Pebmarsh, a sequestration, probably 1653 or 1654. Gives certificate 1656. Ejected 1660. Died June 2, 1671, buried at St. Runwald's, Colchester (Morant).

Calamy Acc. 309 (Blakeley); Palmer 211; Davids 442.

- (b) BORFET, SAMUEL, M.A. Ejected from High Laver 1662.

Of Moreton Pinkney, Northants; son of Walter Borfet; educated at Eton. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1653-4; M.A. 1657; Fellow 1653-60. Ordained at Moreton along with Calamy (q.v.) and Roberts, being then probably assistant to Thomas King at High Laver. On his death (Mar. 16, 1658-9) Borfet became rector, presented by Anthony Stanlake, Esq., Mar. 25. 1659 (Lambeth MSS. 999,

235). Ejected 1662. In 1672 took out general license, as of Finsbury or Woolwich. Buried at Richmond Mar. 21, 1698-9.

Calamy Acc. 302 ; Palmer 205 ; Davids 414.

- (a) BOUND, GEORGE, M.A. Ejected from Shenfield 1660.

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1640) ; B.A. 1639-40 ; M.A. 1643. Ordained D. (Lincoln) Sept. 24, 1643. Son of Nicholas Bound, for a short time R. of Wickford. Was in the sequestration of Kelvedon Hatch Oct. 23, 1645 (Add. MSS. 15669, 197) and continued after death of the sequestered rector, Stephen Withers. On Classis ; signs Testimony and Watchword. R. of Shenfield, sequestered from John Kidby, on death of Nathaniel Ward, some time between May 1652 and May 1653. Married (1) at Kelvedon Hatch, July 16 1646, Abigail Graves of Chipping Ongar ; a daughter Abigail was baptised at Ongar June 23, 1647 ; several others baptised at Kelvedon Hatch between 1648 and 1651. (2) at Cranham, Sept. 22 1653, Esther Duckfield of Childerditch, daughter of Daniel Duckfield, Vicar. Several children baptised at Shenfield. Kept registers very well. Ejected 1660 ; dead before Act of Uniformity.

Calamy Acc. 304 ; Palmer, 217 ; Davids 462-5.

- (b) BRINLEY, SAMUEL, M.A. Ejected from Althamstone 1662.

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted there 1644 ; son of Lawrence Brinley, merchant, of Ironmonger Lane, London ; æt. 20. Had previously kept three terms at New Inn Hall, Oxford. B.A. 1645-6 ; Fellow 1647 ; M.A. 1649. Presented to Althamstone by Oliver, Lord Protector, April, 1654 ; approved by Triers May 8 (Lambeth MSS. 997, i., 36). Ejected 1662. Living at Dedham in 1672, when he took out a general license. Died about 1695. (Calamy).

Calamy Acc. 309 ; Palmer 185 ; Davids 342. They all spell the name Brinsley, but it is certainly Brinley.

- (b) BROWNE, JOSEPH, M.A. Ejected from Nazeing 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1627-8, M.A. 1631. Or of Christ's, matric. 1639. R. Nazeing Oct. 8, 1658 (Lambeth MSS. 999, 109), presented by James, Earl of Carlisle. Ejected 1662. Of Loughton in 1672, when he took out a general license. There is a long account of him and his sufferings in Calamy, Cont, 486 ; Palmer 209 ; Davids somehow omits.

- (a)* BULKLEY, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Fordham 1660.

From New England ; M.A. of Harvard 1642. R. of Fordham 1649 on sequestration of Richard Pulley, for share in the troubles the year before (MS. Harley 6244, 17a). Ejected 1660, Pulley being restored.

Calamy Acc. 311f ; Cont. 487 ; Palmer 200 ; Davids 399.

- (a)† BURNARY, HUGH, M.A. Ejected from South Ockendon 1660.

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1638-9 ; son of Robert Burnaby, gent., deceased, of Grettton, Northants ; born there ; school, Oakham ; age, past 15. B.A. 1642-3 ; M.A. 1646 ; B.D. 1653 ; Fellow 1647. To South Ockendon Jan. 21, 1656-7, presented by the Protector under his Seal Manual (Lambeth 996A, 198). It being a sequestration, he was ejected in 1660. Instituted to Gumley, Leicestershire, Oct. 2, 1660 ; later at Stainby. R. of Ashfordby, Leicestershire, in 1677-8, when his son Andrew, born at South Ockendon, was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, age 17. Died 1699-1700.

(The surname alone occurs in the 1663 list ; Calamy, Palmer, and Davids know nothing more.)

- (b) CALAMY, EDMUND, M.A. Ejected from Moreton, 1662.

Of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1654-5 ; M.A. 1658 (Pembroke Hall). Ordained in Moreton Church by Francis Chandler, Zechariah Fitch, John Harper, John Lavender, John Poole, Anthony Walker and Edward Whiston ; along with Samuel Borfet and Richard Roberts. His son gives the date as Nov. 10, 1653 ; but this must be a mistake for 1657 or 1658 ; this ordination is the one known act of the Voluntary Association. (Reasons given elsewhere.) He was then curate of Moreton ; his Rector, Samuel Hoard, was buried Jan. 15, 1658-9 according to the parish register, (other authorities put his death one or two years earlier). Calamy was then presented to the living by Edward, Earl of Manchester, and other feoffees of Robert, Earl of Warwick, and approved April 20, 1659 (Lambeth MS., 999, 251). See Calamy *Cont.* 461 for copy of certificate of Triers and bond of composition for Firstfruits. Ejected 1662. Took out in 1672 license to preach in Curriers' Hall. Died May, 1685.

Calamy Acc. 301, Cont. 461-4 ; Palmer 208-9 ; Davids 427-9.

- (b) CALANDRINE, LEWIS. Ejected from Stapleford Abbots 1662.

Son of Cæsar Calandrine, formerly rector there, and minister of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, 1640–1665. Rector of Stapleford Abbots 1649 (compounded for Firstfruits Sept. 5). Ejected 1662; lived for some time longer in the parish, as several more children were baptized there. Took out license at Greenstead by Ongar 1672.

Calamy Acc. 311; Cont 485; Palmer 218; Davids 474.

- (a) CARR, GAMALIEL, M.A. Probably ejected from Lambourne 1660.

Son of Gamaliel Carr, minister in succession of Twinsted and Lambourne. Of Queens' and Emmanuel Colleges, Cambridge; B.A. 1636–7, M.A. 1640. Ordained D. (Lincoln) April 2; P. Jan. 5, 1642. Rector Markshall April 20, 1642. Put into sequestration of Aldham 1644 or 1645; till this was ratified, held both livings; ceded Markshall, probably June, 1646. On Classis (for Aldham); signed Testimony. R. of Lambourne on his father's death (probably about June, 1649, when he came before the Assembly); gave certificates 1654, 1657, 1658.

Events at the Restoration are obscure; we do not know what befell the sequestered rector Ludovic Wemys. Newcourt has Will. Parsons, L.D., inst. August 30, 1660, void by death of last incumbent. This might be Carr, but is more probably Wemys. Parsons was presented by the patron, Peter Mewes; but the living seems to be thought to have lapsed to the Crown, as Parsons was again instituted Oct. 21, 1661, presented by the King. It appears that between Parsons' two institutions Carr got Letters Patent for the living, Feb. 4, 1661; but they were revoked March 12. It seems that Carr must have been ejected, but nothing more seems known of him.

- (b) CARR, NATHANIEL, M.A. Ejected from Boxted, 1662.

Queens' College, Cambridge; B.A. 1609–10; M.A. 1613. Ordained P. (London) Feb. 21, 1618–19. Rector of Langenhoe, Oct. 1, 1618 (Bishop's Certificate). To sequestered Vicarage of Ardleigh about 1644; awarded augmentation 1646. Nominated on Classis; signed Watchword 1649. Presented to Boxted 1655, admitted Dec. 29 (Lambeth MS. 996, 430). Received augmentation for several years. Ejected 1662.

Probably "Mr. Lax" of the 1663 list followed by Calamy is only doublet of "Car."

Calamy, Acc. 308 ; Palmer 188 ; Davids 354.

- (b) CALEY (CAYLEY), ABRAHAM, S. T. B. Ejected from Rayleigh 1662.

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1625-6 ; M.A. 1629 ; S.T.B. 1637. Ordained D. (Peterboro') May 30, P. May 31, 1629. R. Rayleigh Jan. 24, 1643-4, on presentation of Earl of Manchester and others. Nominated on the Classis ; signed Essex Testimony, 1648 ; and Essex Watchmen's Watchword 1648-9. Gave many certificates. He was elected Preacher of Grays Inn, Jan. 1662, but it is not clear whether he ever accepted or was ejected in August of that year.

Calamy Acc. 35 ; Cont. 52 ; Palmer 212 ; Davids 446.

- (b) CHADSLEY, ROBERT, M.A. Ejected from Little Yeldham 1662.

Of Queens' College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1637-8. In sequestration of Faulkbourn by 1645. To that of Little Yeldham, Feb. 3, 1646-7 (MS. Bodley 324, 140). Appointed to the vacant rectory there, Sept. 21, 1648 (Bishop's Cert. and Subscription Book). Signed Testimony 1648, and Watchword 1649. Ejected 1662.

Calamy Acc. 306, Cont. 473 ; Palmer 228 ; Davids 521-3.

- (a)* CHANDLER, FRANCIS, B.A. Ejected from Theydon Garnon 1660 ; silenced there 1662.

Of Queens' College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1639-40. Of Hertfordshire. In sequestration of Woodham Ferrers, May 8, 1646 (Add. MS. 15670, 78). Still there 1650. But in 1654 he signs several Certificates as of Kelvedon ; from the names of his co-signatories this must be "Easterford." Wife, Hannah, buried at Woodham July 9, 1655. To Theydon Garnon, a sequestration, Oct. 15, 1656, presented by the Protector under the Great Seal (Lambeth 996a, 132). He hardly seems to have come direct from Kelvedon ; his certificate is signed by some near Woodham Ferrers, by others near Romford and Brentwood, which suggests he had latterly been in the latter district. Took part in Calamy's ordination at Moreton, and preserved a record of it. Apparently worked the smaller parish of Theydon Bois as well as Garnon. (Calamy says "*Mount*" ; but *Wells* was resident there.) Ejected from Theydon Garnon alias

Coopersale in 1660. But remained as curate till 1662. Died at Bishops Stortford May, 1667.

Calamy Acc. 312, Cont. 488-9; Palmer 220-222; Davids 496-7. See also *Essex Review*, vol. xxxv., 202.

- (b)† CHANDLER (Candler) JOHN. Ejected from Little Bromley 1662.

One of this name in sequestration of Danbury before February, 1644-5 (Add. MS. 15669, 10); had relinquished by June 13, 1646 (15670, 105). Another (?) was in Suffolk, where ordained by John Fairfax and others. To Little Bromley Nov. 28, 1656 (996A, 166), presented by Dame Mary Vere, widow (Certificates from Suffolk). Ejected 1662. See Calamy for his interview with Bishop Reynolds. Instituted to Pettaugh, Suffolk, July 25, 1664. Till 1676.

Calamy Acc. 315; Palmer 229; Davids 357.

(The Danbury man may well be distinct from the Bromley man, who may be John Candler, of Jesus College, Cambridge; B.A. 1653-4, M.A. 1657.)

- (b) CHURCH, JOSIAH (Josias), M.A. Ejected from Hawkwell, 1662.

Probably of Christ's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1625-6; M.A. 1636. Probably son of Josiah Church of South Shoebury, 1610-1626. Curate of Paglesham at Visitation of 1637; Rector of Ashingdon, May 5, 1641. In sequestration of Southchurch from 1645; on Classis; signed Testimony and Watchword. At the Parochial Inquisition it was stated that £65 out of £120 was paid to Walter Holmes, sequestered. To Hawkwell, June 18, 1656, presented by Robert, Earl of Warwick, and others (Lambeth 996A, 56). Ejected 1662.

Calamy Acc. 310, Cont. 485; Palmer 201; Davids 400-1.

- (b) CLARK, JOHN. Ejected from Colne Engaine 1662.

Identical with John Clark, M.A., Rector of Tilbury by Clare, March 1645-6; signed Testimony 1648; there till 1653.

Began ministry at Colne Engaine May 25, 1653 (Parish Registers); admitted by Triers June 15, 1654; presented Feb. 21 previous. (Lambeth 997, 202.) Ejected 1662. (Newcourt, however, says he *resigned*.)

He is down in all the lists and twice over in that of 1663 (as

of Cone Eger and of Gainesclue). But nothing more seems known of him. He is distinct from John Clarke, East Ham 1656-9, and from John Clarke, Leigh, 1657-1661; but the name is too common for identification.

- (a)* CLARKE, THOMAS. Ejected from Stisted 1660 (or 1662).
 or Referred to the Assembly for the sequestration of Stisted,
 (b) April 9, 1647 (MS. Bodley 324, 222). Signed Watchword 1649; among MS. additions to Classis about 1656. Ejected probably in 1660, when Newstead, the sequestered rector, claimed the living; but perhaps not till 1662. Probably the Thomas Clark of Dunmow who took out a license in 1672.

Calamy Acc. 304, Cont. 468 (where Stisted and Stansted are confused); Palmer 219; Davids 484.

- (?) (a)* CLARK, TIMOTHY. Ejected from Lindsell according to Calamy and other lists (but not that of 1663). These, however, give no Christian name, which is supplied by Davids, probably by identification with the man of that name licensed in 1672 to preach in his house at Rayne. But it is very difficult to fit him in at Lindsell. Elisha Pratt left for St. Lawrence Dengie, Oct. 1650; the next known man at Lindsell is Thomas Constable, who went to Bradfield St. Clare, Suffolk, in July, 1661. There is no room for ejection in 1662, though a curate may have been silenced; nor in 1660, unless some successor of Pratt had been sequestered.

See Davids 420.

- (b) CLIFFORD, ABRAHAM, M.A., B.D. Ejected from Quendon, 1662.

Son of Joseph Clifford, of Warwickshire, Clerk. Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; B.A. 1649-50, M.A. 1653, B.D. 1660. I cannot find when he went to Quendon. Augmentation was granted to an approved minister there about 1657, but no name is ever given.

Calamy Acc. 90. Cont. 128; Palmer I., 172; Davids 444.

It may here be noted that Clifford's successor was John Nye, Registrar of the Triers, son of Philip Nye. He was ejected from the sequestration of Cottenham, Cambridge, in 1660, but was instituted to Great Chishall June 25, 1661, having just been ordained by Bishop King of Chichester. This he vacated

on appointment to Quendon, Aug. 27, 1662, where "he lived and died in good repute." (Calamy Acc. 119.) Died 1686.

- (b) CLOPTON, WILLIAM, M.A. Ejected from Rettendon 1662.

Of Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1633-4, M.A. 1637. At Great Horkesley in 1646 ; to Markshall Nov. 13, 1647, on resignation of Gamaliel Carr (Lords' Journals IX., 525). Awarded augmentation along with Ralph Josselin of Earls Colne, who often mentions him in his Diary. Presented to Rettendon Sept. 6, 1654 ; admitted by the Triers Oct. 25, (Lambeth 997, ii., 243). Ejected 1662.

Calamy Acc. 310 ; Palmer 212-3 ; Davids 447-8.

- (a)* COLE, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Wethersfield 1660.

Probably of Christ's College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1641-2, M.A. 1645. Fellow of Jesus College 1647-9. At Burwell, Cambridge, 1652 ; then presented to Wethersfield, a sequestration, by the Protector under his Seal Manual ; approved Nov. 21, 1655 (Lambeth 996, 357), in succession to Daniel Weld, gone to Rochford. Ejected 1660, but probably remained as curate till 1662. For subsequent history see Calamy and Davids. Licensed to preach at Wethersfield 1672 ; died April 11, 1673.

Calamy Acc. 309, Cont. 481-3 ; Palmer 223 ; Davids 508-11.

- (a)† CONSTABLE, —. Ejected from Feering 1660.

Cannot certainly be identified, but is probably Robert Constable, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1656-7, M.A. 1660. Constable must have followed George Purcas, who left for Panfield in 1658-9. Robert Constable went to Markshall Feb. 2, 1662-3, having been ordained Jan. 8, 1661-2, by Thomas, Bishop of Candida Casa (Whithorn, Galloway) ; there till 1670. Calamy (Cont. 478) thinks of Thomas Constable of Lindsell, who, however, went to Bradfield St. Clare, Suffolk, in 1661.

- (b)† CROSSMAN, SAMUEL, M.A., B.D. Ejected from All Saints, Sudbury, and Little Henny, Essex, 1662.

Son of Samuel Crossman, clerk, of Bradfield St. George, Suffolk. Pembroke Hall, Cambridge ; B.A., 1644-5, M.A. 1651, B.D. 1660. On June 28, 1647, he was recommended to the Assembly for minister of Dalham, Suffolk, and referred to the Seventh Classis of London for ordination (Add. MS. 15671,

88). At Sudbury from Oct., 1650, when he was awarded augmentation (Sion Coll. MS.). Ejected from both parishes 1662. Josselin's Diary, under Nov. 2, 1662, says, "Mr. Crossman, for preaching, actually sent to prison." But afterwards conformed; Rector of St. Nicholas, Bristol, Dec. 1667; subsequently Dean of Bristol 1683-4. Best known as author of hymn, "Jerusalem on High."

Dauids 408-9.

- (b) DAVY, ROBERT, M.A. Ejected from Gestingthorpe 1662.

Of St. John's College, Cambridge; admitted 1653-4, son of Matthew Davy, baker, of Braintree; æt. 16; school there, Mr. Adamson, seven years. B.A. 1657-8, M.A. 1661. To Vicarage of Gestingthorpe, Sept. 11, 1661; ejected 1662.

Only on lists, except that Calamy quotes Newcourt.

- (a) DAWES, JOHN. Ejected from Much Birch 1660.

Succeeded John Ludgater in the sequestration of Much Birch Oct. 13 1653. Continued May 4, 1654 (Lambeth 997, i., 26-27). Ejected 1660.

- (a)* DEARSLEY, THOMAS, M.A. Ejected Wickham St. Paul 1660.

- (c)† Probably also from Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, in 1662; but subsequently conformed. An obscure case, perhaps because there were several of the name, (1) St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1615-6, M.A. 1619. (2) Queens', B.A. 1628-9, M.A. 1632. (3) Catherine Hall, B.A. 1640-1, M.A. 1644.

Thomas Dearsley, M.A., was in the sequestration of Wickham St. Paul by 1645. In Nov., 1646, he was proposed for the sequestration of Pentlow, but stayed at Wickham. On Classis; signed Testimony and Watchword; gives certificates in 1655. Ejected 1660. The Nonconformist List of 1663 has Mr. Dearsley ejected from Wickham and Mr. Densley (apparently) from Belchamp Walter. It would be conceivable that the same man was ejected from Wickham in 1660, and from Belchamp in 1662. But Thomas Dearsley was instituted to Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, April 25, 1660. He was ejected in 1662 (Calamy); this is supported by the omission of the parish in the Confirmation Book of Sept., 1662. But a Thomas Dearsley was instituted to Depden, Suffolk, in 1669.

Calamy has Dearsley in his "Abridgement" as a nonconformist, but sets him aside in his "Account" as "no non-

conformist," but dying Rector of Narter by Hadleigh in Suffolk (316). In his "Continuation" (493) he says that a Mr. Dearsley, with a living not far from Hadleigh, had also the small living of Chattisham, where he preached once a month, having Mr. Stockton and other nonconformists to take the other Sundays. "Mr. Dearsley used to pray that God would forgive the nation the great sin of turning out so many good ministers. And upon this account I doubt some will rather reckon him worse than a nonconformist." See Palmer, 230, Davids 515-7. I have not been able to verify the above. Depden is nowhere near Hadleigh, and I have not found a Dearsley at either Chattisham or "Narter," presumably Naughton.

Calamy speaks of John Dearsley.

Who was ejected from Belchamp Walter remains a mystery. The history of the parish is obscure from 1650 or 1652 till the Restoration.

- (b) DOD, ROBERT. Ejected from Inworth 1662.

Of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Matriculated 1652. Instituted to Inworth July 27, 1660 (Newcourt's date 1666 is clearly a misprint for 1660; not, as Calamy emends, 1656). He came on the ejection of Robert Jenken (q.v.), not from a sequestration but because appointed by an usurping patron; ordained by Juxon shortly after the Restoration (Calamy; Davids has a mistake here). Ejected 1662; took out licence in 1672 to preach in his house at Castle Hedingham. Preached later at Wethersfield. Calamy dates his death in his first book as April 9, 1695; in his second as 1706.

Calamy, Acc. 308, Cont, 477-8; Palmer 204; Davids 410.

- (a) DOWELL, EDWARD. Ejected from Great Holland 1660.

On the sequestration of Edward Cherry, October, 1643, Anthony Laphorne was appointed. But in the Durham Certificate for the Classis, Dec., 1645, one of that name is found at Durham. In the Essex Classis list, originally drafted about the same date, Edward Dowell is at Great Holland. But there are two perplexing notices in MS. Bodley 324:—

40. Nov. 19, 1646: Edward Dowbettell, B.A., recommended for the cure.

229. Apl. 13, 1647: Anthony Lapthorne having left, the rectory to stand sequestered to the use of Edward Dowlettle, a godly and orthodox divine.

Oct. 9, 1647, Edward Dowell complains of the re-intrusion of Cherry (Add. MS. 15671, 236). Dowell was here 1650; ejected 1660, when Cherry was restored. He had been a weaver; see story in MS. J. Walker, C. III., 178.

(b) ELLIS, JOHN. Ejected from Hempstead 1662.

Had the curacy here in 1650, salary £40. (Being a chapelry and sole charge, it may be reckoned as ejection, not merely silencing.)

(a)* ELLISTON (Alliston), MATTHEW, M.A. Ejected from Stanford Rivers 1660.

Of a Coggeshall family. Son of John Elliston of Black Notley. Emmanuel and Queens' Cambridge; B.A. 1632-3, M.A. 1636. To sequestration of Stanford Rivers, April, 1643 (many notices in Journals of Parliament). On Classis; gives several certificates. Ejected 1660. Took out licence 1672 to preach at his house, the Grange, Little Coggeshall. Probably the Matthew Elliston buried at Markshall May 3, 1693.

Calamy Acc. 312, Cont 490; Palmer 218; Davids 471.

(b) ELY, SAMUEL, M.A. Ejected from Henham 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge; B.A. 1644-5, M.A. 1651. Vicar of Margaretting, July 30, 1651 (MS. Bodley 328, 160); augmentation renewed. Vicar of Henham July 10, 1656, presented June 11 by Lawrence Wright, M.D. (Lambeth 996A, 50; 971, 551; 968, 47). Received augmentation till 1659. Ejected 1662; settled at Bishops Stortford; buried there 1681.

Calamy, Acc. 300, Cont. 460; Palmer 203; Davids 406-8.

(a)* ESDAY, HENRY, M.A. Ejected from Pentlow 1660.

Peterhouse, Cambridge; B.A. 1641-2, M.A. 1646. Assistant to Richard Babington at Ingrave in 1649; signs Watchword (February). Ordained by Fourth Classis of London Nov. 29, 1649, at St. Leonard's, Eastcheap. To sequestration of Pentlow in 1650 (before the Assembly, April). Ejected 1660. Apparently the man who took out a licence in 1672 at "Koyles."

Calamy Acc. 307, Cont. 476; Palmer 211; Davids 443.

- (a)* FARNWORTH, JOSEPH. Ejected from South Hanningfield
(c) 1660, Hockley 1662.

Appointed to South Hanningfield, a sequestration, April 4, 1655, on presentation of Hugh Peters, clerk ; (Lamb : 996, 12). There was an ejection from here in 1660. But Calamy, whose account of the Hanningfields is very confused, has Farnworth ejected from Hockley, Cardinal from South Hanvill. (He was really at *West*.) Farnworth takes out a licence, 1672, at Wapping.

- (b)† FERRIS, SAMUEL. Ejected from Norton Mandeville, 1662.

Calamy says " Mr. Ferris of Norton " was ejected, but afterwards conformed. This must be Norton Mandeville, as another was at Cold Norton. He was probably the immediate successor of Edward Whiston, who left Norton for Little Laver in 1655. Ferris held Good Easter 1668-1671, Little Laver 1671-1680.

- (b) FIRMIN, GILES. Ejected from Shalford 1662.

Son of Giles Firmin, apothecary, of Sudbury. Entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1629, but did not complete course, as his family went to New England. There studied and practised medicine. Married Susanna, daughter of Nathaniel Ward. Returned, like Ward, to England. Appointed to Shalford about 1648 and ordained there by Stephen Marshall and others. (This is the one probable instance of the Presbyterian system of 1648 getting to work.) Ejected 1662, and again practised medicine. Took out licence in 1672 to preach in his house at Ridgewell. His writings are very interesting, and contain many stories of " my father Ward," John Rogers, and other Essex Puritans. The value of his " Real Christian " for such records was recognised by Cotton Mather.

He is probably the Giles Firmin, gentleman, of Shalford, whose son Nathaniel, born there, entered Caius College, Cambridge, in 1664, aged 16 ; school, Braintree (Adamson), 4 years ; Wethersfield (Fish) one year ; Felstead (Glascock) one year. He died 1697.

Calamy Acc. 295-8 ; Cont, 458-9 ; Palmer 214-6 ; Davids 457-61.

- (b) FISHER, JOHN. Ejected from Ashingdon 1662.

Perhaps of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, B.A. 1646. Presented to Ashingdon, Sept. 15, 1654; approved March 9, 1654-5 (Lambeth 997, iii., 200). Davids gives entries of several children born there. Ejected 1662.

Davids 343.

- (b) FITCH, ZECHARIAH, M.A. Ejected from Shelley 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge; B.A. 1635-6, M.A. 1639. At Twinstead, probably soon after 1643, when Gamaliel Carr left for Lambourne. Signed Testimony and Watchword.. But the Inquisition of 1650 returns that Mr. Griffiths is incumbent, under presentation and confirmation of the Great Seal; but Mr. Fitch serves the cure and enjoys the profits. To Shelley probably in 1653; Thomas Isaac was appointed March, 1653-4 to Twinstead, vacant by the resignation of Zechariah Fitch (Add. MSS. 36792). Fitch is among the MS. additions to the Classis about 1655 or 1656. Ejected 1662; he subscribed, but was rejected as not episcopally ordained (MS. Rawlinson, B.375). Buried at Romford Feb. 10, 1686-7, "Zachariah Fitch, clerk, from Cockerells, Noke Hill."

Davids 461. Calamy and Palmer have only the name on the list.

- (c) FRYER (FRIAR), —. Silenced at Braintree 1662.

Probably curate to John Argor.

Lists have name only.

- (b) GILSON, THOMAS, M.A. Ejected from Little Baddow 1662.

Born at Sudbury. School, Dedham. Entered at Emmanuel College in 1645, but migrated to Oxford (Magdalen Hall). B.A. 1646, M.A. 1649-50; Fellow of Corpus Christi College, appointed by the Visitors. Ordained by Third London Classis, before March 19, 1650-1. (Paper in Minute Book of Westminster Assembly, Dr. Williams' Library). Vicar of Little Baddow by April, 1652, probably a year earlier, when before the Assembly. Ejected 1662. Licensed in 1672 to preach in his house at Brentwood. Also general licence, giving his address as at Weald (which included Brentwood).

Calamy Acc. 305; Palmer 186; Davids 344-6.

- (b) GLOVER, HUGH. Ejected from Finchingfield 1662.

Of Leicestershire; school, Market Bosworth. Emmanuel

College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1630-1., M.A. 1634. Curate to Stephen Marshall at Finchingfield by 1637 ; still there 1644, when invited to sequestration of Debden, which he held till 1652, when Dr. Wilson, the sequestered Rector, died. Was next at Stanway, which he had left by December, 1652. Presented to Finchingfield, July 7, 1653 ; approved by Triers May 2, 1654 (Lambeth 997, i., 15). Ejected 1662. Licensed to preach in his house at Bishops Stortford 1672.

Calamy Acc. 307, Cont. 474 ; Palmer 200 ; Davids 391-4.

- (a)* GRANDORGE, ISAAC, M.A. Ejected from Birdbrook 1660.

Admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, 1646 ; son of Christopher Grandorge, rector of Marton in Craven, Yorkshire ; school, Giggleswick. B.A. 1649-50, M.A. 1653, Fellow 1650. Examined and approved by Assembly, Jan. 1650-1. Vicar of Clare, Suffolk, May, 1655, presented by Protector under Great Seal (Lambeth MS. 996, 88). Rector of Birdbrook, presented by Sir Edward Aleyn, approved by Triers, April 2, 1656 (996A, 17). Ejected 1660, John Thompson being restored. Took out general licence in 1672, then living at Black Notley.

Calamy Acc. 306, Cont. 473 ; Palmer 190 ; Davids 351.

- (a) GREEN, JOHN. Ejected from Great Tey 1660.

In parish register (Morant) 1653-60 ; in MS. additions to Classis about 1656. On (corrected) 1663 list of ejected.

- (a)† GREENE, NICHOLAS. Ejected from Runwell 1660.

Appointed to Runwell, sequestered from Simon Lynch, March 4, 1655-6, on presentation of Edward Sulyard (Lambeth 996, 562). Lynch's son says (MS. J. Walker, C. I. 27) that he was "a broken puritanical shopkeeper." Ejected 1660, but was in 1663 instituted to East Hanningfield, which he held till 1689. Calamy and the 1663 list are in error in making him ejected from "West Hamsted."

- (a) GRIGGS, THOMAS. Ejected from Fingringhoe and Langenhoe 1660.

Probably proposed for Pentlow Nov. 1646 (Bodley 324, 26). At Fingringhoe, a sequestration, by May 28, 1654 (Registers). To Langenhoe Nov. 16, 1655 (Lambeth MS. 996, 402).

Davids 397.

- (b) HALKE, JOHN, B.D. Ejected from Upminster 1662.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1621-2, M.A. 1625, B.D. 1631-2. Ordained Deacon Sept. 21, Priest Sept. 22, 1623 (Peterboro'). Rector of Upminster Sept. 14, 1638. Sequestered in 1646 after a long dragging case, re-opened 1649 (see above, p. 150). Restored in 1660, but ejected 1662 (a very rare case). Will proved 1678.

Only a name in the lists, except that Davids notes the sequestration, 502.

- (a)† HARPER, JOHN, M.A. (?). Ejected from Epping 1660.

(There are several Cambridge men of the same name and period.) Venn thinks perhaps of Emmanuel, B.A. 1624-4, M.A. 1628. To sequestration of Nazeing by 1645. On Classis ; signs Testimony. To that of Epping in 1648 (before Assembly in March). Elected Parochial "Register" in 1654 ; took part in Calamy's ordination. Ejected 1660. Account of Visitation 1664 says that he was licensed by the Master of Faculties, Dec. 9, 1661 ; subscribed Sept. 2, 1662. Thus he may have been a nonconformist for a week or so. P.C. Theydon Bois 1667 ; St. Mary Aldermanbury 1666 70 ; Vicar of Witham 1668 ; died 1670.

Calamy speaks of him simply as afterwards conforming.

- (a)† HARRIS, MALACHI, B.D. (D.D.) Ejected from Navestock 1660.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1626-7, M.A. 1630, B.D. 1637, D.D. 1660. Appointed Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, by the Visitors. Vicar of Navestock, nominated by the College, Nov. 24, 1655, approved by Triers Jan. 9, 1655-6 (Lambeth 996, 454). Ejected 1660 as not a proper member of the College. Petitioned in 1660 for some Deanery or Canonry, having been under Sir Thomas Roe on two embassies and domestic chaplain to the Princess of Orange. Rector of Farthinghoe, Northants, 1662-1684.

Davids 431.

- (b) HARRISON, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Little Waltham 1662.

Probably of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge ; entered 1631, son of John Harrison, vicar of Sudbury, Suffolk (a Puritan, in trouble 1631-2) ; born there ; school, Halstead. B.A. 1634-5, M.A. 1638. Instituted to Little Waltham,

Nov. 23, 1643. On Classis ; signed Testimony and Watchword. Ejected 1662. Took out licence 1672 to preach in house at Pebmarsh and house at Handon.

Calamy Acc. 306, Cont. 471 ; Palmer 222 ; Davids 505.

- (b) HAVERS, HENRY, B.A. Ejected from Stambourne 1662.

Catherine Hall, Cambridge. B.A. 1641-2. Down on the Classis as of Chipping Ongar. Recommended for Fyfield, March 12, 1646-7 (MS. Bodley 324, 184-5). But Edmund Brewer was recommended July 5, 1647, and signed Testimony there, May, 1648. Havers was, however, at Fyfield by Feb., 1648-9, when he signed the " Watchword," and continued till Michaelmas, 1650, though Anthony Walker was appointed rector on Dr. Reade's death, Jan., 1649-50. Havers was presented to Stambourne Oct. 13, 1651, by the Commissioners of the Great Seal (Add. MS. 36792). Ordained then by a London presbytery. Ejected 1662 ; took out licence to preach at Stambourne, 1672. Kennet (*Register*, 826) speaks highly of him. See Appendix D.

He was father of Philip Havers (born at Fyfield in 1650), on whom see Newcourt under Mount Bures.

Calamy Acc. 303, Cont. 465 ; Palmer 218 ; Davids 467-471.

- (b) HERVEY (HARVEY), JOHN. Ejected from Childerditch 1662.

Presented there by Sir Thomas Cheek, and admitted by the Triers Jan. 28, 1658-9 (Lambeth 999, 180). Ejected 1662.

Davids 360. Calamy Acc. 312 (as Harris).

- (b) HERVEY, SAMUEL, M.A. (?) Ejected from Magdalen Laver 1662.

Perhaps of Catherine Hall, Cambridge ; B.A. 1643, M.A. 1647. Rector of Magdalen Laver probably in 1651-2 ; he was approved by the Assembly for some place that March, and his predecessor's will was proved 1652. Gave certificate in 1658. Ejected 1662.

Calamy 304 ; Palmer 205 ; Davids 416.

- (b) HILLES, RALPH, M.A. Ejected from Pattiswick 1662.

Queens' College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1629-30, M.A. 1633.

At Shalford (probably a sequestration) by 1645 ; on Classis ; gone by March 2, 1646-7 (MS. Bodley 324, 168). To Ridgewell, where he signed the Testimony in 1648 and Watchword 1648-9.

To Pattiswick 'probably Jan. 1651-2, when approved by the Assembly. Ejected 1662.

Only name in list of Calamy and Palmer ; Davids 440-1.

- (a)† HILLS, FRANCIS, M.A. (?) _ Ejected from High Roding 1660.

Possibly son of William Hill of Berkhamstead, Herts. St. John's College, Oxford ; B.A. 1637, M.A. 1640. Married Elizabeth Finch at Epping, June 9, 1645, then minister of Greenstead. (I cannot fit him into either Greenstead, but he may have been curate.) Succeeded Joseph Sherwood in sequestration of High Roding, Sept. 18, 1646 (Add. MS. 15670, 218, 231.) Signed Essex Testimony. Ejected 1660, when John Duke, sequestered minister, was restored, but may have remained as curate ; succeeded as rector, Feb. 6, 1663-4 on Duke's resignation. Had been ordained Aug. 21, 1662, by Gilbert, Bishop of London.

Calamy Acc. 316.

- (a)* HOAR, LEONARD, M.A. Ejected from Wanstead 1660.

One of the first students at Harvard, where he was afterwards for a short time Principal. To Wanstead, April 30, 1656, presented by Sir Henry Mildmay. Also Sept. 15, 1656, by the Protector (Lambeth 996A, 22). (See also MS. 971, 291.) Ejected 1660, probably because presented by the Protector and a regicide. Subsequently returned to New England.

Calamy Acc 312 ; Palmer 222.

- (b) HOLBECH, MARTIN, M.A. Ejected from High Easter 1662.

Queens' College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1621-2, M.A. 1625. Ordained Deacon (London) May 23, 1624. Schoolmaster for a short time at Braintree and Halstead ; then for twenty years at Felstead, where he was most successful (1628-50). A decided Puritan ; see autobiographies of Thomas Shepherd and Sir John Bramston. Officiated at one time at Black Chapel (Calamy 315). Vicar of High Easter apparently in 1649, certainly 1650 (MS. Bodley 327, 79). Had served cure for two years by Sept. 1650 (Return of Inquisition). Received augmentation, at one time £37. Ejected 1662.

Calamy Acc. 309, Cont. 484 ; Palmer 198 ; Davids 386.

- (a)† HOLMES, NEHEMIAH, B.A. Ejected from Writtle 1660.

Magdalen Hall, Oxford ; B.A. 1628. Son of George Holmes of Kingswood, Gloucestershire. Apparently a "plundered

minister," as his Letters of Orders were lost in the War. In sequestration of Stock by 1643 (Parish register). Left for Southminster May, 1647 (Add MS. 15671, 32, 37). Signed Testimony and Watchword. To sequestration of Writtle by May 1651 (registers). Several children born there. Ejected, 1660, but remained as curate. Instituted Vicar of Matching Dec., 1661; died Sept. 12, 1685, aged 78. At Bishop's Visitation of 1664 he declared that his Letters of Orders were lost, but showed Letters of Institution from Gilbert, Bishop of London.

Calamy 316.

- (b) HORROCKS, THOMAS, M.A. Ejected from All Saints, Maldon, 1662.

Admitted at St. John's College, Cambridge, April, 1637, aged 17; son of Christopher Horrocks, fuller, of Bolton-le-Moors, Lancs. School, Bolton. B.A. 1634-5, M.A. 1638. Ordained by Bishop Morton of Durham. Schoolmaster at Romford, where he married Mary Fenning, Dec. 31, 1641. One child, John, was baptised and buried in 1642; another, Sarah, baptised in 1644. He was recommended for Roxwell, Dec. 27, 1645 (Add. MS. 15669, 235), but went to Stapleford Tawney, a sequestration, June 13, 1646 (15670, 105). Signed Testimony and Watchword. Appointed Rector of All Saints', Maldon, near end of 1650 (after the Parochial Inquisition). Ejected 1662. For his subsequent history see Calamy and Davids. Took out licence at Battersea 1672.

Calamy Acc. 305, Cont. 468; Palmer 206-7; Davids 432-5

- (b) HUBBERT (HUBBARD), JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Great Oakley 1662.

Pembroke College, Cambridge; B.A. 1629-30, M.A. 1633. Curate of Great Bentley in 1641, when the Protestation was taken. Rector of Boxted March 1644-5; on Classis; signed Testimony and Watchword. Still there 1650. To Great Oakley before 1657—perhaps by 1655, when Carr went to Boxted. Ejected 1662; died March 19, 1678-9.

Davids 433; Calamy and Palmer have only the name.

- (a) JENKEN, ROBERT, M.A. Ejected from Inworth 1660.

Of Canterbury. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; B.A. 1647-8, M.A. (Emmanuel) 1651. To Inworth Dec. 25, 1654

(Lambeth 997, iii., 72) ; ejected 1660, being succeeded by Robert Dod (q.v.).

Calamy, Palmer, and Davids have the name only.

- (a)* KEIGHTLEY, EDWARD. Ejected from Aldborough Hatch (?) or (b) 1660 or 1662.

A church at the Forest end of Barking parish had been proposed in 1650 ; its erection was ordered by the Little Parliament in 1653. The Keightleys were an important family here and at Grays.

Keightley may possibly be identical with Edward Keighley, New Inn Hall, Oxford, B.A. 1654, M.A. 1657.

In 1663 he is down as ejected in 1660 from "neer London." This will suit Aldborough Hatch ; but it might be a corruption of "Nether Laindon," which would account for his subsequent work at Billericay. But there is no trace of him in the register there. In 1672 he took out a licence to preach in his house at "Albury Hatch," and also a general licence, as of Barking.

Calamy Acc. 314 ; Palmer, 185 ; Davids 339-340.

- (?) (a) KING, ISAAC. Probably ejected from the *Rectory* of Littlebury, sequestered from Dr. Greene, 1660.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1640-1. Rector of Littlebury, Nov. 19, 1656, presented by Protector under Seal Manual (Lambeth 996A, 158). Also of Abington, Cambs.

- (a)† LATHAM, DANIEL, M.A. Ejected from Orsett 1660.

Admitted at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1637 ; son of Thomas Latham, gent. ; born in London ; school, St. Paul's ; age 16. B.A. 1640-1, M.A. 1644. Ordained priest by Thomas (Morton) Bishop of Durham, Dec. 12, 1644. Rector of Stifford, May 7, 1645. On Classis ; signed Testimony and Watchword. Rector of Orsett, Aug. 28, 1652, on death of Dr. Styles ; presented by Keepers of the Great Seal (Add. MS. 36792). Ejected 1660. At Archdeacon's Visitation 1662 he was charged with preaching at Grays without a licence. In 1664 he was Vicar there, but charged with negligence and non-residence (he had also a London lectureship). In 1669 he was at Highgate Chapel—licensed Oct. 7.

- (a)* LAVENDER, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from High Ongar 1662.

Queens' College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1630-1, M.A. 1634. At the Visitation of 1637 he was curate of Kelvedon Hatch and of

Doddingtonhurst. He was still curate of Kelvedon Hatch in 1641, when the Protestation was taken ; but curate of High Ongar when it was taken there. There was friction between Lavender and Tomlinson, the rector (MS. J. Walker, C.V. 105). The rectory was sequestered from Tomlinson to Lavender's use, Oct. 21, 1643 (Commons, Journals III., 283). He was on Classis and signed Testimony and Watchword. Tomlinson died Aug. 27, 1651 ; Lavender must have been at once appointed rector, as he compounded for Firstfruits Nov. 11, 1651. He took part in Calamy's ordination, and gave a number of certificates. Ejected 1662. Lady Warwick got his successor, William Alchorne, and Anthony Walker of Fyfield, to make an allowance to him from their incomes. Died 1670.

Calamy Acc. 306, Cont. 471 ; Palmer 211 ; Davids 436-7.

His son, John Lavender, named by Calamy as "a conformist minister, a sober man who died young," was curate of Lambourne 1678-1688, and died at Stanford Rivers in 1698.

- (b) LISLE, GEORGE, M.A. Ejected from Rivenhall 1662.

Probably of Balliol College, Oxford ; B.A. 1636, M.A. 1639 ; son of William Lisle of Breamore, Hants.

At Bisham, Berks, in 1645. Had sequestration of Rivenhall by Feb. 8, 1647-8 (parish register) ; here at Inquisition 1650. Presented to the rectory March, 1654 ; approved by Triers April 28 (Lambeth 997, i., 5). Ejected 1662. Licensed to preach in house at Witham 1672 ; died 1687 ; buried at Witham.

Calamy Acc. 304 ; Palmer 213 ; Davids 449.

- (a)† LONG, NEHEMIAH. Probably ejected from Matching 1660.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; (of Essex) ; B.A. 1639-40, M.A. 1643. In sequestration of Runwell by 1645 ; probably left by October, 1647. To sequestration of Matching by 1650, probably in 1647. Probably ejected 1660, remaining as curate. Had been presented to Dengie in 1659, but was kept out by rival claimant, Nicholas Ashwell, till 1661 (Dengie register). At Dengie 1661-2—1678 ; also Steeple 1668-1678.

- (b) LORKIN, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Chipping Ongar 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; (of Essex) ; B.A. 1639-40, M.A. 1643. Was at Markshall in May, 1646, when he signed the Suffolk and Essex petition. To Stoke-by-Clare, Oct. 1646

(Add. MS. 15670, 238). Left there by Dec. 1658. Already at Ongar March, 1659-60, when awarded augmentation (Lambeth 987, 278 ; 1004, 108, 114). Ejected 1662.

Calamy Acc. 306 ; Palmer 211 ; Davids 434.

- (a) LUDGATER, JOHN. Ejected from Witham 1660.

Probably of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford ; entered 1633-4, son of Robert Ludgater, " sacerdos," of Manorbier, Pembrokeshire. Entered upon the sequestration of Much Birch, May 21, 1643 (registers). Mrs. Collingwood had difficulty in getting her " fifths." On Classis ; still here 1650. To sequestration of Witham, Oct. 13, 1653 ; approved by Triers June 21, 1654 (Lambeth 997, ii, 5). Ejected 1660 ; dead when 1663 list appeared. His son John was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge 1656-7 ; B.A. 1659-60. Schoolmaster at Kelvedon 1664-1670 ; afterwards at Earls Colne, and finally Vicar there.

Davids 519. Calamy and Palmer give the name as *Thomas Ludgutter*, and know nothing more.

- (c) LUKIN (LUCKYN), HENRY. Of High Laver and Matching.

Born Jan. 1, 1627-8, son of Henry Luckin of Mashbury. Born at Great Baddow. Entered at Christ's College, Cambridge ; matriculated 1645-6. Chaplain to Sir William Masham of Otes, High Laver. Named as preacher at High Laver, giving certificates 1654, 1657, 1659 ; but was never *Rector* there. Admitted Rector of Chipping Ongar March 23, 1658-9, presented by Richard, Lord Protector, under the Great Seal (Lambeth 999, 231). But must have resigned very soon, to escort the young Sir William Masham (grandson of the first) on the Grand Tour, which lasted some years. On his pupil's death in France in 1662 he returned to England, becoming chaplain to Mrs. Masham, his pupil's mother, at Matching Hall. Never conformed. Died April 27, 1719, in his 92nd year. Supplied Calamy with accounts of Essex nonconformists, apparently character sketches rather than biographies.

Calamy Acc. XXIV., 314, Cont. 492 ; Palmer 228 ; Davids 420-1.

- (a) MANNING, THOMAS. Ejected from Great Henny 1660.

(There are several Cambridge men of same name and period ; also several cases of the surname in Essex with Christian name not given ; hence identification difficult).

To Great Henny (a sequestration), presented by Keepers of the Great Seal, June 25, 1653 (Add. MS. 36792). Among MS. additions to Classis ; gives certificates in 1656 and 1657. Ejected 1660. Not on any nonconformist list.

- (a)† MARTIN, THOMAS, M.A. Ejected from Layer Breton 1660.
(Several Cambridge men of the name and possible dates.)

Rector of Chipping Ongar 1655-7 (parish registers). To Layer Breton May 13, 1657 (Lambeth 998, 29). Also Lecturer, Little Birch, Feb. 19, 1657-8 ; brought certificates from clergy near Ongar, including Fitch, Lavender, Poole, and Hoard of Moreton (998, 196). Ejected 1660 ; but instituted R. of Alresford May 25, 1661, being ordained Priest that day by Thomas, Bishop of Candida Casa. Also Vicar of Elmstead Nov. 29, 1662, holding both till death Jan. 29, 1671-2.

- (b) MILNER, WILLIAM. Ejected from Lawford 1662.

Admitted there May 28, 1658, on presentation of John Crewe, Esq. (Lambeth 999, 38). Ejected 1662 ; buried at Lawford.

Dauids 416. Calamy has only the name, and Palmer omits.

- (b) MOORE, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Clavering 1662.

Calamy says he was born at Barton Overly, Leicestershire, and educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge. But while there are a number of men of this name at Cambridge about the time, none are from Peterhouse ; so cannot identify.

Vicar of Clavering on resignation of Jeffrey Watts, Oct. 28, 1643 (Subscription and Bishop's Certificate). On Classis ; signs Testimony. For circ. of appointment see also MS. Egerton 2647, 375. Calamy speaks of his allowing £20 to a " Place of Ease " at *Newport* ; this should be *Langley*, where, in 1650, Moore allowed Richard Southey 6s. 8d. weekly. Ejected 1662 ; to Easton, Hunts ; died 1673 (Calamy). Cornelius did not come to Clavering till after Moore's ejection.

Calamy, Cont. 483 ; Palmer 190 ; Davids 362-3.

- (a)* MOTT, MARK, M.A. Ejected from Chelmsford 1660.

- (c) Born Oct. 23, 1602. Queens' College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1623-4, M.A. 1627. Ordained D. (Peterboro') June 7, P. June 8, 1628. Curate of Chelmsford at Visitation 1637 ; probably previously as Stisted, 1633-5. Cannot trace him for

a few years. In 1643 put into Chelmsford on sequestration of Dr. Michaelson. On Classis. Paid Mrs. Michaelson her "fifth part." Ejected 1660 on Michaelson's restoration. Instituted to Great Wratting, Suffolk, Nov. 22, 1660, on presentation of Sir Thomas Barnardiston. Ejected 1662. Thus Calamy and Palmer have him twice over, in Essex and in Suffolk, though hardly more than a name anywhere. The identity is shown by entries of sons at Caius College, Cambridge: (1) Nov., 1659, Mark Mott, son of Mark Mott, priest, born at Chelmsford, school there, aged 16: (2) Aug. 1662, Nathanael Mott, son of Mark Mott of Great Wratting, Suffolk, born at Chelmsford, school there, aged 16. The will of Mark Mott, clerk, of Rayne, was proved in 1667.

Dauids 358.

- (a)* MOXON, GEORGE, B.A. Ejected from Radwinter 1660.

Lecturer for some years at Haverhill; left between April, 1658 and end of 1659. This dates appointment to Radwinter. Ejected 1660. Lived at Eaton Constantine, Salop.

Calamy, Acc. 313; Palmer 212; Davids 445-6.

- (a)† NEGUS, JOHN, B.A. Probably ejected from Woodham Ferrers 1660.

Of Essex; probably son of Jonathan Negus, V. of Prittlewell 1625-1633). Probably of Jesus College, Cambridge; B.A. 1649. Recently come to Barling in Sept., 1650, "not yet fully estated in the living, a hopeful young man." Admitted by the Triers to Woodham Ferrers (a sequestration) Dec. 14, 1655 (Lambeth 996, 415); but had already been there some time, having given a certificate in October, 1654, for Purcas of Feering, and joined in election of "Register" July 22, 1654.

Ejected 1660, but apparently remained as curate. But ordained Jan. 24, 1661-2 by Thomas, Bishop of Candida Casa. Instituted to Salcot Virley Aug. 26, 1662; also to Messing Sept. 10, 1668, holding both till his death in 1689.

Not down in any nonconformist list.

- (b) NEWCOMEN, MATTHEW, M.A. Ejected from Lectureship of Dedham 1662.

Son of Stephen Newcomen, Vicar of St. Peter's, Colchester; School, Colchester. St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A.

1629-30, M.A. 1633. Lecturer of Dedham from 1637. A component of "Smectymnuus." On Classis ; signs Testimony and Watchword ; received augmentation. (Income from Lectureship £80). Ejected 1662 ; settled at Leyden, Holland.

Calamy Acc. 294-5, Cont. 457 ; Palmer 195-7 ; Davids 380-3.

- (b) OAKES, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Boreham 1662.

Of Suffolk. Jesus College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1655-6, M.A. 1659. Vicar of Boreham, Dec. 18, 1657, presented by Protector, under Great Seal. (Lambeth 998, 152). Married there Mary Tendring, April 25, 1659. Ejected 1662 ; settled across river at Little Baddow, where he took out a licence in 1672 ; thence to London, where he died 1688.

Calamy Acc. 300, Cont. 460 ; Palmer 188 ; Davids 352-3.

- (?) (a)† OKELY, JOHN, B.A. Probably ejected from Stanway 1660.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1641-2. In sequestration of Feering, exact date difficult. He was down on the Classis, but return of 1650 (possibly abbreviated) says "No minister." But on Oct. 7, 1650, a bare month later, he complained that a rent of five marks a year, after being paid for one year, had been detained for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years (MS. Bodley 327, 207 ; see also 328, 156, March 21, 1650-.)

To Stanway before May 30, 1654, where he was continued by the Triers (Lambeth 997, i., 116). He cannot have been there long, as Isaac Chaplyn had been put in the previous December. Gave certificate 1655-6. Ejected 1660, if still there. Vicar of Clare, Suffolk, 1663-90.

On no nonconformist list. To be distinguished from Arthur Okely of Mersea.

- (a) OKELY, ARTHUR. Of Mersea. Probably ejected 1662.

He petitioned, April 23, 1654, for settlement in the sequestration of West Mersea, stating that the parish was very unhealthy and had been for six or seven years without a minister ; he had been there two years. The parishioners petitioned for him, and he was continued by the Triers, June 2, 1654 (Lambeth 997, i., 136). He was also approved for East Mersea, another sequestration, Jan. 30, 1656-7 (996A, 205). Edwards of East Mersea was certainly restored

in 1660 ; it seems as if Woolhouse of West Mersea was also restored. Thus Okely, if still living there, must have been ejected.

Not on any list.

- (a)† ONGE, FRANCIS, B.A. Ejected from Peldon 1660.

Of St. John's College and Peterhouse, Cambridge. Entered St. John's in 1632 ; son of John Onge " plebeius," long since dead, of Hartest, Suffolk ; educated privately at Chappel ; age about 20. B.A. 1637. One of Walker's correspondents says he had been Lady Eden's coachman (MS. J. Walker, C. II., 101). In 1637 he was curate to William Osbolston of Great Parndon ; was ordained priest, May 20, 1638, by Roger (Mainwaring) Bishop of St. David's. Got sequestration of Peldon in 1644 ; had long dispute with Mrs. Cornelius about her " fifth part." On Classis ; ejected 1660, Cornelius being restored. But in 1662 Cornelius went to Clavering, and Onge succeeded him at Peldon. At Visitation of 1664 ; died early in 1667.

- (a)* OVERED, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Toppesfield 1660 or 1661.

Of Essex. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1626-7, M.A. 1630. To Toppesfield, sequestered from Lawrence Burnell, by 1644 ; he had been there four years in July, 1648. Burnell died Nov. 22, 1647, and Overed was appointed to the rectory July 29, 1648, by Parliament under the Great Seal (Lords' Journals X., 372). On Classis ; signed Testimony and Watchword.

Got re-appointed at the Restoration, but this was upset in favour of Clement Thurston. In Sept., 1662, Edward Wolley was appointed ; he became Bishop of Clonfert in 1665.

Overed took out a licence for his house at Castle Hedingham 1672.

Calamy Acc. 304, Cont. 466 ; Palmer 222 ; Davids 499-501.

- (b) PARKIN, JAMES, M.A. Ejected from Thaxted 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1633-4, M.A. 1637. Obtained living of Thaxted after great controversy and disturbance, 1647 (Lords' Journals, X, 236, 408 ; Assembly

Minutes ; MS. Bodley 324). Signed Testimony ; among MS. additions to Classis. Ejected 1662.

Dauids 490-5 ; hardly more than a name in Calamy and Palmer.

- (b) PECK, THOMAS, M.A. Ejected from Prittlewell 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1627-8, M.A. 1631. Ordained D. (Peterboro') Feb. 13, P. Feb. 14, 1629-30. Instituted to Prittlewell May 2, 1633, presented by Robert, Earl of Warwick. On Classis ; signed Testimony and Watchword. The registers contain signatures to the " Vow and Covenant " and to the " Solemn League and Covenant " ; also a declaration of dissent from the proceedings of the Army and remaining members of the House of Commons in relation to Religion, Parliament, and Kingdom, Jan. 14, 1648-9.

Peck's wife, Rebecca, was buried Oct. 20, 1654 ; he was married again in December, 1655, to Mary Hale of Stowmarket, by George Groome, Esq., J.P. for Suffolk. Ejected 1662 ; buried June 2, 1668. Succeeded by Samuel Peck, son.

Calamy Acc. 306-7, Cont. 473-4 ; Palmer 211 ; Davids 443-4.

- (b) PEPYS, ROBERT, M.A. Ejected from Arkesden 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1632-3, M.A. 1636. Vicar of Great Wenden July 27, 1639. To Arkesden, void by death of George Beardsall, July 5, 1648 (Lords' Journals, X, 363). Ejected 1662.

Calamy Acc. 307, Cont. 475 ; Palmer 186 ; Davids 342.

- (a)† POOLE, JOHN. Ejected from Bobbingworth 1660.

Either there were two of the name at Bobbingworth ; or one left and returned.

- (1) had the rectory, sequestered from Nicholas Searle ; is on Classis ; compounded for First-fruits 1651-2.
- (2) admitted by the Triers Sept. 29, 1658, presented by Protector under Seal Manual (Lambeth 999, 105) ; compounded for First-fruits 1658-9.

Poole took part in Calamy's ordination at Moreton. Ejected 1660 ; but remained as curate, attending Visitations of 1664 and 1669 ; buried Dec. 28, 1680.

- (b) POWELL, WILLIAM. Ejected from Little Warley 1662.

(To be distinguished from John Powell of Little Thurrock and Robert Powell of Willingale).

At Brentwood Chapel by Nov. 11, 1651 (MS. Bodley 328, 163) ; received augmentation there for some years. Rector Little Warley, Michaelmas, 1653 (Parish registers) ; approved by Triers June 1, 1654 (Lambeth 997, i., 133). Ejected 1662.

Dauids 506. Calamy and Palmer have nothing beyond the name and confuse with John Powell.

- (a) PURCAS, GEORGE. Ejected from Panfield 1660.

To Feering Oct. 20, 1654 (Lambeth 997, ii., 235). To Panfield March 23, 1658-9, presented by Samuel Crane, gent. (Lambeth 999, 229). Ejected 1660.

Calamy Cont. 477 ; Davids 439.

- (b) RAND, RICHARD, B.A. Ejected from Marks Tey 1662.

-Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1647-8. Son of Richard Rand, farmer ; born at Ashdon, Essex ; schools, Bumpsted and Stoke.

" Rand " is among the MS. additions to Classis at *Easthorpe*. *Perhaps* ejected there 1660. Ejected from Marks Tey 1662. Took out licence at Boxted in 1672 ; died at Little Baddow 1692 (Calamy).

Calamy Acc. 308, Cont. 476 ; Palmer 220 ; Davids 486.

- (b) RANew, NATHANIEL, M.A. Ejected from Felsted 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1620-1, M.A. 1624. Ordained D. (Peterboro') Sept. 22, P. Sept. 23, 1627. At St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, a sequestration, about 1643. In sequestration of West Hanningfield by June 1645 ; on Classis ; signed Petition of 1646. Vicar Felsted Feb. 29, 1647-8, on death of Wharton (Lords' Journals X, 12 ; Bishop's Certificate gives date as 3 March.) Signs Testimony and Watchword ; among MS. additions to Classis. Ejected 1662 ; removed to Billericay, where took out license in 1672. (But Newcourt and Firstfruits Composition send him to *Coggeshall* in 1661. All other evidence, however, makes him ejected from Felsted, Sams from Coggeshall.) Nathaniel Ranew, the publisher, was probably his son.

Calamy Acc. 300, Cont. 460 ; Palmer 199 ; Davids 389.

- (b) RATHBAND, WILLIAM, M.A. Ejected from South Weald 1662.

Son of William Rathband, M.A., of Little Lever, Lancashire ; school, Manchester. Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1646-7, M.A. 1650. Incorporated at Oxford ; Fellow of Wadham 1648, M.A. there 1649. Cannot have come to South Weald till 1659 at earliest ; not mentioned in registers. Ejected 1662 ; died Oct., 1695 at Highgate (Calamy).

Calamy Acc. 306, Cont. 471 ; Palmer 217 ; Davids 508-9.

- (a)* RAY, DANIEL, M.A. Ejected from Ridgwell either 1660 or or (b) 1662.

St. John's College, Cambridge ; admitted 1652, son of Ambrose Ray, mercer, of Sudbury ; born and educated there ; age 16. B.A. 1655-6, M.A. 1659. To Depden, Suffolk, March 24, 1656-7. Probably came to Ridgwell 1660 ; ejected 1662. But if so can only have been curate to John Pindar, the sequestered and restored minister ; or to Jas. Fish, who succeeded in May, 1662. Described in 1663 list as " very poor." Took out licence to preach in his house at Ridgwell 1672. Died 1677.

Calamy Acc. 303 ; Palmer 213 ; Davids 448-9.

- (a)† READE, ISAAC. Ejected from Goldhanger 1660.

Son of Thomas Reade, carpenter, of Colchester ; school, Colchester. Of Corpus Christi and Caius Colleges, Cambridge ; matriculated 1653. Ordained D. (Lincoln) Feb. 6, P. Feb. 8, 1660-1. To sequestration of Goldhanger July 4, 1656, presented by Protector under Seal Manual (Lambeth 996A, 69). Ejected 1660 ; but R. Wrabness Feb. 13, 1660-1, holding it till 1701. Also Wix from 1686.

- (a)* REEVE, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Springfield 1660.

Son of John Reeve, R. Shellow Bowells 1619-1667. Admitted at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1636 ; born at Willinghall (Willingale), Essex ; school, Epping ; age 16. B.A. 1640-1, M.A. 1646. Ordained D. (Peterboro') Dec. 8, 1641, P. (Lincoln) March 18, 1645-6. Rector Clipston, Northants, 1646. To Roxwell by 1650, chosen by parishioners. To Springfield before spring of 1654, probably some time earlier. Held both rectories there ; ejected 1660. Licensed in 1672 to preach in his house at Springfield,

Calamy Acc. 304, Cont. 467 ; Palmer 217 ; Davids 465-6.

- (a)* ROBOTHAM, JOHN. Ejected from Upminster 1660.

To Upminster Jan. 14, 1656-7, sequestered from Mr. John Halke ; presented by Protector under Seal Manual. Ejected 1660, when Halke was restored.

Calamy Cont. 490 ; Palmer 222 ; Davids 503.

- (b) SACHEVEREL, PHILOLOGUS. Ejected from Eastwood 1662.

Merton College, Oxford. To Eastwood March 24, 1657-8. presented by Protector under Great Seal (Lambeth 998, 218). Married at Stock April 15, 1658, to Anne Barnaby of All Hallows, Barking. Ejected 1662.

Calamy Acc. 313 , Cont. 490 ; Palmer 199 ; Davids omits.

- (b) SAMS (SAMMES), JOHN. Ejected from Coggeshall 1662.

From New England. To Kelvedon Oct. 9, 1647 (Add. MS. 15671, 261). Still there in 1650 ; but at Coggeshall by 1654, probably moving about Feb. 1651-2, when he was approved by the Assembly. (See Appendix G.) Received augmentation. Apparently ejected in 1662 ; but see under " Ranew." Licensed 1672 to preach at Coggeshall. Buried there Dec. 16, 1672.

Calamy Acc. 303, Cont. 465 ; Palmer 191 ; Davids 363.

- (a) SANDFORD, WILLIAM, B.D. Ejected from White Roding 1660.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1621-2, M.A. 1625, B.D. 1632. To White Roding (sequestered from Charles Leventhorpe), Feb. 1646-7, on Collins of Braintree finally declining it (MS. Bodley 324, 143 ; cp. Assembly Minutes). Signed Testimony. Charges against him at Parochial Inquisition 1650, but no result. Ejected 1660.

Calamy Acc. 311, Cont. 485 ; Palmer 214 ; Davids 452.

- (b) SCOTT, CHRISTOPHER, B.A. Ejected from Great Wakering 1662.

Probably of Christ's College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1639-40. Entered 1635 ; son of Christopher Scott ; born at Aquil [Hawkwell] Essex ; age 15 ; school, Maldon. Vicar Great Wakering, Nov. 17, 1644 ; signed Testimony and Watchword. Gave certificates down to 1659. Ejected 1662. Took out licence in 1672 to preach at Prittlewell—living at Milton Hamlet (i.e., Southend).

Calamy Acc. 309, Cont. 485 ; Palmer 222 ; Davids 504-5.

- (a) SIMPSON, MARTIN. Ejected from Stock, 1660.

Minutes of Assembly July 29, 1647: "Mr. Martin Simpson approved on his former ordination." But, as usual, the place is not given. Presented to Stock by some Londoners July 7, 1653 (Council of State). Admitted May 6, 1654 (Lambeth 997, i., 27). Ejected 1660.

Calamy and Palmer have only the name. Davids 485.

- (a)* SMALL, JAMES. Ejected from Takeley 1660.

The name of the parish has been much disguised and corrupted. West Tukeley, or Yaxley (Calamy); Davids says Yaxley, Suffolk, which is otherwise filled. Small was appointed to preach at Takeley on probation Feb. 1, 1658-9 (Lambeth 980, 496). Admitted there by Triers, April 27, 1659 (999, 256; cp. 983, 153). Ejected 1660. Became chaplain to Sir John Barrington of Hatfield. Died about 1704.

Calamy Acc. 307, Cont. 474; Palmer 227; Davids 629.

- (b) SMITH, GEORGE, M.A. Ejected from Dedham 1662.

(There are several Cambridge men of the name and suitable dates). Probably of Emmanuel College; B.A. 1625-6, M.A. 1629. Vicar of Dedham July 2, 1641 (Duchy of Lancaster). On Classis; signs Testimony and Watchword. Ejected 1662; buried at Dedham March 1664-5.

Calamy Acc. 295, Cont. 458; Palmer 198; Davids 383.

- (a)† SMITH, HURD, M.A. Ejected from Middleton 1660.

King's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1622-3, M.A. 1626. Ordained D. Nov. 10, 1625, P. March 5, 1625-6, by Thomas Dove, Bishop of Peterboro'. To Middleton (a sequestration) April 9, 1658, with certificates from Suffolk clergy (Lambeth 999, 10). Among MS. additions to Classis. Must have been ejected in 1660, but may have remained as curate. Instituted here May 7, 1661, on the death of Frost (sequestered and restored). Till 1669. [Probably Rector of Hitcham, Suffolk, 1634-44; Cookley 1647-50].

- (a)* SMITH, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Great Dunmow 1660; also
(c) from (or silenced at) Castle Hedingham 1662.

R. South Shoebury, Feb. 16, 1626-7 (Bishop's Cert.). To V. of Dunmow, sequestered from Joseph Crowther, Aug., 1646 (Add. MS. 15670, 166-7; MS. Bodley 323 104; 325, 85-6).

(Identity shown by admission St. John's College, Cambridge, Sept., 1657, of John Smith, son of John Smith, minister of the Word at Dunmow ; born at Shoebury ; school, Stortford ; age over 16.) Ejected 1660 ; thence to Castle Hedingham, whence ejected 1662. May well have been in charge of that parish.

The above son probably was R. Barnston 1660-1699. But a John Smith is at Castle Hedingham at the Visitation, 1664.

Calamy Acc. 306, Cont. 473 ; Palmer 203 ; Davids 384.

(I have eight cases of " John Smith " in my list of Essex clergy, and can identify only Shoebury and Dunmow. But the Barnston and Colchester men are distinct from him and from one another.)

(a) SMITH, SAMUEL. Ejected from Sandon 1660.

To Sandon, sequestered from Brian Walton, apparently in 1644. On Classis ; signed Testimony. Walton gave trouble in 1647, and Smith in turn gave trouble in 1660. Wells, the new rector, had to apply to a Justice, who instructed the Bailiff of the Hundred, who had to untile part of the house to get in and turn Smith out. (MS. J. Walker, C. III., 130)

Settled at Childerditch, where he died April 2, 1662 (Smyth's Obituary). To be distinguished from Samuel Smith of Hutton and Fryerning.

Calamy Acc. 313 ; Palmer 214 ; Davids 454-6.

(a)* SPARHAWKE (SPARROWHAWKE), EDWARD, M.A. Ejected from Black Notley 1660.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1621-2, M.A. 1625. See Laud's Troubles and Tryall, 536 ; and especially State Papers Domestic, 350,54—March 21, 1636-7. He had been suspended in Norwich diocese, and from his lecture at St. Mary Woolchurch, London, and had held conventicles at Coggeshall. In a sermon there on the text " The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved," he declared that the cause why the plague did not cease was our superstitious adoration, bowing at names, and idolatrous mixtures of religion. His brother, John Sparhawke, of Coggeshall, was also suspected ; and Robert Crane, who married their sister.

To sequestration of Black Notley, Oct. 9, 1643 (Commons' Journals III., 270). Was there in 1645, 1650 ; ejected 1660.

He was living at Boreham in 1669, when his son Samuel, born at Black Notley, was admitted at Caius College Cambridge (school, Felsted ; age 17). Died Sept., 1678 " within a few miles of Colchester " (Bufton's Diary).

Dauids 432-3 Calamy and Palmer have the name only.

- (b) SPARROW, WILLIAM, M.A. Ejected from Halstead 1662.

Probably of Caius College, Cambridge, B.A. 1643-4. M.A. 1647. Son of William Sparrow, R. of Lammas, Norfolk. In the sequestration of Halstead by 1650, but date of coming not clear. Preached at Chelmsford when Commission sat for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers Feb. 20, 1655-6 (Josselin's Diary) ; appointed one of the Assistants. Admitted to the living by the Triers May 16, 1654 (Lambeth 997 ; 61). Ejected 1662.

Calamy Acc. 305, Cont. 471; Palmer 201 ; Dauids 402.

- (b) STALHAM, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Terling 1662.

Probably of Christ's College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1620-1, M.A. 1624. Ordained P. (Norwich) 1626. Calamy, however, says that he, a native of Norfolk, was bred up in the University of Oxon ; but I cannot find his name there. Instituted at Terling May 5, 1632, on deprivation of Thomas Weld. Married at Chelmsford Aug. 2, 1632, Ann Powell of St. Giles, Cripplegate. He and two other ministers had a public discourse with two Baptists, Jan., 1643-4. He was assistant to the Commissioners. Ejected 1662. Never licensed, but had a congregation. His son John entered Christ's College, Cambridge, March, 1667-8 ; born at Terling ; school, Felsted ; age 18.

Calamy Acc. 304, Cont. 468 ; Palmer 220 ; Dauids 486-7.

- (b) STOCKTON, OWEN, M.A. Ejected from Town Lectureship, Colchester, 1662.

Son of Owen Stockton, Preb. of Chichester ; born 1630 ; school, Ely. Christ's College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1649-50, M.A. (Fellow of Caius) 1653. Town Lecturer of Colchester, 1658, June 16 (Lambeth 999, 50). To preach every Lord's Day in the afternoon, and every Wednesday in the forenoon, and on every Midsummer Day, Michaelmas Day, " Dennis Day," and Fifth of November... Ejected 1662. Took out

licence 1672 to preach at Colchester and Ipswich. Died Sept. 10, 1680. Full account of him in Calamy and Davids. Calamy Acc. 291-f, Cont. 455; Palmer 191-4; Davids 365-373.

- (b) SYMMES, EDWARD, M.A. Ejected from Steeple Bumpstead 1662.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge; B.A. 1650-1, M.A. 1654 (King's), V. Steeple Bumpstead May 19, 1655 (Protector, by Great Seal—Lambeth 996, 71). Ejected 1662; dead by 1678, when his son Edward, born at Steeple Bumpstead, was admitted at St. John's College, Cambridge; school, Felsted; age 17.

Calamy Acc. 306, Cont. 473; Palmer 189; Davids 358.

The true sequence of clergy at Steeple Bumpstead is:—

John Borodale	..	..	..	1622-1649
Leonard Hudson	..	..	..	1651-
Edward Symmes	..	..	..	1655-1662
George Hyers	..	..	..	1662-1665

- (a)† SYMONDS, SAMUEL, M.A. Probably ejected from Ashen 1660.

Catherine Hall, Christ's College, and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Fellow of Pembroke; B.A. 1643-4, M.A. 1646. Admitted at Christ's College 1642; son of John Symonds; born at Yeldham; school, Steeple Bumpstead. Presented to Ashen by Commissioners of the Great Seal on death of John Skynner (who in 1650 supplied the cure by choice of parish and consent of Mr. Jones) Feb. 18, 1653-4 (Add. MS. 36792). He was probably ejected in 1660, perhaps remaining as curate. A new appointment was made in Nov., 1661, on the death of last incumbent, who may have been Jones, but was certainly not Symonds. Rector of Colne Engaine Nov. 13, 1662; ordained Priest June 10, 1661, by Robert (Skinner), Bishop of Oxford.

- (a) THOMAS, EDWARD. Ejected from Belchamp Otten 1660.

In sequestration probably by 1646 (Petition); signs Testimony 1648; among MS. additions to Classis.

Calamy Cont. 491, Palmer 188, and Davids 350, know nothing beyond his signature to the Testimony.

- (b) ? THOMPSON, ROBERT, M.A. Ejected from Copford 1662, if he did not die before August 24.

Probably of Corpus and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge; B.A. 1623-4, M.A. 1626. Ordained D. (Peterboro') Feb. 21, P. Feb. 22, 1629-30. Prebendary of Wildland in St. Paul's,

April 29, 1631. Rector Copford Jan. 24, 1638-9. On Classis; gives certificate 1654. If ejected in 1662, died soon after. The living was filled Sept. 5, 1662; Newcourt does not say how vacated. But the Prebend was filled Sept. 22, 1662, vacant by death of Thompson.

Dauids 378; Calamy and Palmer have the bare name.

- (?) (b) VAUGHAN, EDWARD. Ejected or resigned from Romford 1662.

He is down on no nonconformist list—unlike Wells of Hornchurch, who, in fact, kept his living. But he left Romford just after St. Bartholomew's Day; on August 28 the parishioners chose Philip Peck to be curate or minister of Romford. But as Vaughan died in a few months, he may have resigned simply from ill health.

Perhaps identical with Edward Vaughan, of Queens' College, Cambridge, New Inn Hall and Magdalen College, Oxford; Fellow of Magdalen; ordained by Fourth London Classis, May 24, 1654. Rector of Slymbridge, Gloucester, 1652-4. He was at Romford early in 1659, probably some years earlier.

- (b)† WALKER, ANTHONY, M.A. (D.D.) Ejected from Fyfield 1662; but conformed almost at once and recovered his living.

Admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge 1638; son of William Walker, Vicar of Winston, Suffolk. Born at Conington, Cambridge; school, Ely, Mr. Hitch; age 16; B.A. 1640-1, M.A. 1645, D. D. 1663. Recommended by the King for a Fellowship in 1643 along with Hierome Potkin (R. of Stifford 1653-73), but fortunately was not elected. Ordained D. (Lincoln) Sept. 22, 1644. Became curate to Dr. Gauden of Bocking in 1646; chaplain to the Earl of Warwick in 1648. In the secret of the authorship of "Eikon Basilike," part of the MS. of which he carried secretly to London, and of which he gives a full account. To Fyfield 1650, on death of Dr. Reade; compounded for Firstfruits in April. Took part in Calamy's ordination at Moreton, and gives several certificates, 1655, 1656, 1658, 1659. Re-instituted Sept. 26, 1662, and again compounded for Firstfruits; this implies he had been deprived under the Act.

Also P.C. of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, 1663-6, where he preached a weekly lecture during the Plague time. At Fyfield till death, 1692.

- (a)† WALLIS, THOMAS, M.A. Ejected from Hadstock 1660.

Son of Robert Wallis, chandler, of Huntingdon ; born there ; school there. Sidney College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1627, M.A. 1631. Ordained P. (Lincoln) April 25, 1633. To Hadstock 1645 (Add. MS. 15669, 68), sequestered from Dr. Edward Young, who kept Heydon. In March, 1651-2 Young was appointed to Anstey, Herts., hereby ceding Heydon and *primi facie* Hadstock, to which Wallis was appointed April 26, 1652, by the Commissioners of the Great Seal (Add. MS. 36792). But at the Restoration Young claimed and recovered Hadstock. Wallis, however, was instituted to Stansted Mountfichet Jan. 22, 1663-4. Till 1667.

- (a)* WALTON, THOMAS. Ejected from West Ham 1660.

Chaplain of Ilford Hospital April 23, 1651 (MS. Bodley 328, 158). To Poplar Chapel Oct. 13, 1654 (Lambeth 997, ii., 224). To West Ham Jan. 30, 1655-6, presented by Protector under Seal Manual (Lambeth 996, 497). Ejected 1660 ; kept a flourishing school at Bishop's Hall and Bethnal Green.

Calamy Acc. 302 ; Palmer 223 ; Davids omits.

- (a)† WARD, NATHANIEL, M.A. (D.D.) Ejected from Stapleford Tawney 1660.

There seem two of the name, perhaps cousins. One was of Sidney College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1631-2, M.A. 1635, D.D. 1661, son of Samuel Ward of Ipswich. In what follows I may well be mixing the two up.

Nathaniel Ward succeeded John Ward, son of Nathaniel Ward of Stondon, at Castle Hadleigh, June 7, 1639 ; then moved to Hawkwell Jan. 3, 1639-40. In 1643 he went to Walkern, Herts., sequestered from Dr. Gorsuch ; on Gorsuch's death, June, 1648, he got Althorpe, Lincolnshire. (So far, identity very clear.) To sequestration of Stapleford Tawney near end of 1650, when Thomas Horrocks removed to Maldon. Gave certificates here 1654, 1656, 1657 ; several children born here. Ejected 1660. Apparently two Wards applied for preferment in 1660-1. One of them subscribed Aug. 18, 1662, as of Hawkwell, where I cannot fit him in. One obtained the rectory of St. Margaret's, Leicester, 1660. The D.D. applied,

after the Act of Uniformity, for the parish church of Newcastle-on-Tyne. A Nathaniel Ward became rector of Pitsea in 1670.

Only a name in Calamy and Palmer, who confuse with the elder Nathaniel Ward of Stondon and Shenfield. Davids omits.

- (b) WARREN, EDWARD, M.A. Ejected from St. Peter's, Colchester, 1662.

Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; B.A. 1641-2, M.A. 1646. To St. Peter's, Colchester, June 16, 1654 (Lambeth 997, i, 214). Certificates from Suffolk. Ejected 1662. Licensed in 1672 to preach in his own house at Colchester. Died April 20, 1690.

Calamy Acc. 293, Cont. 457; Palmer 195; Davids 373.

- (b) WARREN, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Hatfield Broad Oak 1662.

Born 1621; educated at Oxford (Calamy). Came to Hatfield about 1642, originally as Lecturer, perhaps on death of James Harrison; then appointed to the living. On Classis; gives several certificates. Ejected 1662. Took out licence 1672 to preach in house at Hatfield. Afterwards lived at Bishops Stortford, dying Sept., 1696.

Calamy gives a full account of him, Acc. 298-300; Palmer 201-3; Davids 404-6.

- (a)* WATERHOUSE, THOMAS, B.A. Ejected from Little Hallingbury 1660.

At Ashbocking, Suffolk, 1662. Calamy gives a full account of him at the latter place, but with some confused sequence. Under Essex he has simply "Mr. Waters" ejected from "Hollingborough Parva." But he relates that Thomas Waterhouse of Suffolk had held a Charterhouse living near Bishop Stortford, which can only be Little Hallingbury; and various other sources give the name of the rector there as Thomas *Waterhouse*. He was appointed to this sequestration Jan. 15, 1657-8, by Sutton's Hospital, bringing certificates from Suffolk clergy (Lambeth 998, 178). At the Restoration the sequestered minister turned up at once, and gave trouble.

Calamy Cont. 844, Palmer III., 248; Davids 573.

- (b) WATSON, ROBERT. Ejected from North Shoebury 1662.

To sequestration of Cranham by Feb. 1644-5 (Add. MS. 37491). Still there 1650; left about 1652, probably for

North Shoebury, whence ejected 1662. (Sequence of clergy there is very obscure.)

Calamy and Palmer have surname only ; Davids 465.

{a)* WAY, BENJAMIN, M.A. Ejected from Barking 1660.

{c) Of Trinity, Corpus and Oriel Colleges, Oxford ; B.A. 1650-1, M.A. 1653 ; Fellow of Oriel 1653, appointed by the Visitors. Presented to Barking Aug. 12, 1654, approved by Triers Aug. 25 (Lambeth 997, ii., 156). Ejected 1660. In June, 1660, Thomas Cartwright petitions for the living, formerly in the gift of All Souls College, Oxford, but now lapsed to the Crown. Way was instituted to Frome Billett and West Stafford, Dorset, Feb. 27, 1660-1 ; ejected 1662. Licensed in 1672 to preach at Dorchester.

Calamy Acc. 264 ; Palmer 157, 186-7 ; Davids 573.

{?) (a) WELLS, ISAAC. *Perhaps* ejected from *Vicarage* of Littlebury 1660.

Appointed there by Protector under Great Seal, April 25, 1656 (Lambeth 996A, 20).

{a) WELLS, WALTER. Ejected from Theydon Mount 1660.

Called " Dr. Wells " by Calamy, but not of Oxford or Cambridge. To sequestration of Theydon Mount, Sept. 21, 1647 (Add. MS. 15671, 214, 227). Signed Testimony ; gives certificate in 1656. Ejected 1660.

Calamy, Cont. 491, and Palmer, 222, know nothing more than his subscription to the " Testimony " ; Davids omits. All go wrong in the Theydons, making Chandler ejected from Mount as well as from Garnon. He was really of Garnon, but may well have held (or worked) *Bois* as well.

{b) WHISTON, EDWARD, M.A. Ejected from Little Laver 1662.

Trinity College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1634-5, M.A. 1638. Married Mary Walmsley at Blackmore Aug. 15, 1639. P.C. Norton Mandeville 1643. On Classis ; signs Testimony and Watchword. R. Little Laver April 11, 1655, presented by William Hiccocks (Lambeth 996, 23). Took part in Moreton ordination. Ejected 1662. Calamy says he used to preach twice a day when 90 years old at Aldborough Hatch. He was buried at Romford July 17, 1697.

Calamy Acc. 302-3, Cont. 464-5 ; Palmer 205 ; Davids 415.

- (b) WILLIS, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Ingatestone 1662.

Of Somerset. Scholar of Wadham College 1614 ; B.A. 1616, M.A. 1620. V. Hockley Sept. 24, 1619 ; Ingatestone June 19, 1630. He held both livings for some time, keeping a curate at Hockley. On Classis ; signs Testimony. Had large family ; latterly neglected registers. Assistant to Commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers. Gave many certificates. Ejected 1662. Took out licence in 1672 to preach in house at Brentwood. Buried at Ingatestone May 19, 1679 ; " John Willis, senior, clerke, quondam rector heere."

Calamy Acc. 306, Cont. 472 ; Palmer 204 ; Davids 411.

- (a)† WITHAM, THOMAS, M.A. Ejected from Chingford 1660.

Probably of Trinity College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1636-7, M.A. 1640. V. White Notley May 20, 1653, by Commissioners of the Great Seal (Add. MS. 36792) ; approved by Triers, Feb. 6, 1655-6 (Lambeth 996, 512). R. Chingford May 1, 1657 (Lambeth 998, 21). Ejected 1660. R. Birdbrook, June 7, 1661 ; ordained by Thomas, Bishop of Candida Casa, June, 1661. Till 1670.

- (a) WOOD, JOHN. Ejected from Abbess Roding 1660.

Possibly the John Wood who was curate of Epping in 1637. Put into Abbess Roding, sequestered from Nicholas Burton, Oct., 1643. On Classis ; signs Testimony. Ejected 1660.

Calamy Acc. 314, Cont. 491 ; Palmer 213-f ; Davids 450.

- (b) WRAGG, CHRISTOPHER, M.A. Ejected from Great Baddow 1662.

St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1633, age 16 ; son of Christopher Wragg, Rector of Mendlesham, Suffolk ; born at West Malling, Kent ; school, Doncaster ; B.A. 1636-7, M.A. 1640. Apparently curate of Boreham in 1641, when the Protestation was taken. V. Great Baddow Sept. 14, 1642 ; took possession Sept. 16. On Classis ; signs Testimony. Ejected 1662. In 1672 took out licence for house in Little Waltham, but was described as of Margaretting parish. His son James, born at Little Waltham, was admitted to St. John's College in 1686, age 17 ; school, Bishops Stortford. Will proved 1678.

Calamy Acc. 305, Cont. 471 ; Palmer 186 ; Davids 343-4.

- (a)† WRIGHT, JOHN. Ejected from Great Horkesley 1660.

MS. J. Walker, C. III. 308 says that John Wright was put in and continued till the Restoration, and then Eyre came to it again.

Wright may have succeeded Nathaniel Bugg, who left in 1655. He probably remained as curate, as he was so in 1664.

- (b) YARDLEY, JOHN, M.A. Ejected from Cranham 1662 (?).

Son of Ralph Yardley, apothecary of London; born 1612. Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A. 1632-3, M.A. 1636. P.C. of Blackmore, Oct. 11, 1637. To the sequestration of Sheering, Dec. 25, 1643. On Classis; signs Testimony. To Conington, Cambridge, 1650; to Cranham (a sequestration) probably 1652; gave certificate 1654-5. The sequestered rector, Ignatius Jordan, petitioned in 1660; but Yardley seems to have continued till ejected in 1662. Took out general licence in 1672, being then of South Weald.

Calamy Acc. 314, Cont. 491; Palmer 195; Davids 378-9.

The following are wrongly included, or at least very doubtful. In some cases the man seems not to have been ejected in 1660, and to have died before August 24, 1662. In one case the man resigned months before.

BEARD, THOMAS, Great Bentley.

Curate of Ardleigh in 1637. In sequestration of West Mersea 1644; had left there by March 28, 1646 (Add. MS. 15670, 56). To sequestration of Great Bentley, March 7, 1645-6 (Add. MS. 15670, 34, 36). Here in 1650; approved by Triers June 17, 1654 (Lambeth 997, i., 224). Buried at Great Bentley, August 12, 1662 (Parish register, ap. Davids). His successor subscribed Oct. 31, 1662.

Calamy Cont. 483; Palmer 188; Davids 350-1.

CARDINALL (CARNALL), RICHARD, M.A. West Hanningfield.

St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1631-2, M.A. 1635. Ordained D. (Peterboro') Dec. 18, 1641. R. West Horndon Oct. 9, 1643, on death of Simon Jackaman. On draft of Classis Nov., 1645. Signed Testimony and Watchword. R. West Hanningfield Mar. 21, 1655-6, presented Feb. 21 by William, Lord Petre (Lambeth 996, 597); Edward Aylmer, from whom it was sequestered, being probably dead. He

married while at West Horndon Susanna, daughter of Daniel Duckfield V. of Childerditch; he records the baptism of seven children, mentioning in several cases the preacher on the occasion. He signs himself "Cardinal alias Carnall" or simply "Carnall."

Thomas Masterson was instituted to West Hanningfield Dec. 7, 1661, on death of late rector. If Aylmer lived till the Restoration *he* would be meant, Carnall having been ejected 1660; but far more probably Carnall is meant. Will proved Oct. 1661. The 1663 lists mark him as ejected from "Hanvill," but "dead." Calamy has "South Hanvil"

Calamy Cont. 491; Palmer 201; Davids 404.

MALDEN, JAMES, M.A. Stowe Maries.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge; B.A. 1634-5, M.A. 1638. At Stow Maries 1645-6 (prob. curate). On Classis; signs Petition of 1646. At Cold Norton in 1650, paying Fifths to Mrs. Middleton. Appointed to Stowe Maries April 18, 1652, by Commissioners of the Great Seal (Add. MS. 36792); approved by Triers June 16, 1654 (997, i., 219). Dead before Aug. 24, 1662, as his successor was instituted Aug. 25, the living being vacant by Malden's death.

(Only a name in lists.)

MANN, RICHARD, M.A. Danbury.

A really doubtful case. Calamy, but not the 1663 list, has *John* Mann, ejected from Danbury 1662. But this confuses Richard Mann of Danbury with John Mann of Rawreth 1648-1666. And more probably Richard Mann died before the Act of Uniformity came into force.

Of Balliol and Trinity Colleges, Oxford; B.A. 1619, M.A. 1622. Rector of Stockerston, Leicester, 1627; V. of Great Cornard, Suffolk, 1630. To sequestration of Danbury June 13, 1646 (Add. MS. 15670, 105, 108). Appointed to Rectory, vacant by death of Clement Vincent, by Commissioners of Great Seal, April 26, 1652 (Add. MS. 36792). William Clutterbuck was instituted here Oct. 12, 1662, vacant by natural death of Richard Mann. He may have died after ejection, death being stated as a perfect cause of voidance. On the other hand few Essex livings vacant from nonconformity were filled so promptly.

Davids 379-80.

WILLET, JAMES, M.A. Resigned Little Chishall in 1661.

Successor and son of the learned Andrew Willet. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1617-8, M.A. 1621. To Little Chishall March 30, 1622 (Bishop's Cert.) On Classis; signs Testimony 1648. Here in 1650; resigned living Dec. 20, 1661 (Baker MSS.).

Calamy Cont. 475; Palmer 190; Davids 360.

FOULIS, DAVID.

Calamy (Cont. 492) gives Newcourt's authority for his ejection from Nevendon in 1662. But Newcourt does not say how he vacated. He had been approved by the Triers June 9, 1654 (Lambeth 997, i., 173). The parish registers show that he came the previous October, and that he was moved in 1662 by the Bishop of London to Paddington, "two miles distant from Westminster." He was there at the Visitation of 1664. Ordained by Thomas, Bishop of Candida Casa, Sept. 18, 1660.

Of the remaining men who take out licences to preach in 1672 I know nothing of the following, who probably were not ministers before the Act of Uniformity passed:—

Benjamin Benton (Ham)	William Collins (Matching)
Isaac Bugby (Braintree)	Thomas Milaway (Coggeshall)
Samuel Deaken* (Romford)	William Stebb (Great Tey)

I can add nothing to the generally full accounts in Calamy or Davids as regards

Nathaniel Ball	Samuel Backler	Samuel Slater
Henry Wilkinson	Thomas Wadsworth	

but can add somewhat to the notices of

William Blackmore	Henry Coleman	Thomas Lowry
Edmund Taylor	John Wilson	John Yates

BLACKMORE, WILLIAM, M.A.

Several papers relating to him are preserved, with other Blackmore family papers, in Dr. Williams' Library. These include

- (1) The certificate of the marriage of William Blackmore and Mary Chewning at St. Mary's, Islington, May 22, 1660.
- (2) The order of the Justices, Dec. 22, 1660, confirming him in the rectory of St. Peter's, Cornhill.

* Perhaps ejected: Kent.

- (3) Inventory of his goods, July 28, 1684. (His books were valued at £50, his plate at £14). Also a letter about certifying his being buried in woollen. Also
- (4) The report of the inquest on his brother, the Governor of St. Helena, who was killed by falling down a cliff.

Blackmore (son of William Blackmore, of Eastcheap, London, gent.), was of Lincoln College, Oxford; B.A. 1638, M.A. 1641. Ordained deacon, but not priest, by Bishop Prideaux of Worcester. He was appointed to the sequestration of Pentlow about 1644. In Dec., 1645, complaint was made that he did not pay Mrs. Alston her "fifth part" (Add. MS. 15669, 225). He resigned this in Sept., 1646 (15670, 214), and now took, in succession to Thomas Coleman the Hebraist (buried March 30, 1646), the cure of St. Peter, Cornhill, sequestered from Dr. Fairfax. On Fairfax' death in 1655 he was presented to the rectory by the patrons, the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of London, May 14, 1656, and admitted by the Triers, Aug. 15 (Lambeth 996A, 96). He was a prominent member of the Fourth Classis of London, the minute-book of which, preserved by him and his family, is now in Dr. Williams' Library. Regarding himself, being a deacon only, as "not fully in orders" he was ordained at their first ordination April 20, 1647, at St. Mary-at-Hill. (This meant supplementing his former orders, not repudiating them.) He took part in ordinations Jan. 31, 1648-9; Nov. 29, 1649; Dec. 2, 1652; Sept. 4, 1656; and May 5, 1659.

At the Restoration his title to St. Peter's was examined and allowed by the Justices. They found that he was duly ordained, duly presented by the undoubted patrons to a benefice void by death, and was in possession before March 25, 1659; they therefore confirmed the said William Blackmore as the true and lawful minister in the said rectory. But he was ejected in 1662. Ultimately, if not immediately, he settled at Hare Street, Romford, (now Gidea Park) in the ecclesiastical parish of Hornchurch, where he took out a licence in 1672. Mary, wife of William Blackmore, clerk, of Hare Street, was buried at Romford Nov. 13, 1678; he himself July 18, 1684; and his widow, Mrs. Sarah Blackmore of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, Feb. 17, 1693-4.

Calamy Acc. 35, Cont, 43-f; Palmer I., 181-2; Davids 599-600.

COLEMAN, HENRY, M.A.

Probably of King's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1627, M.A. (Magdalene) 1631. [Or possibly one ordained D. (Peterboro')]

Sept. 19, P. Dec. 19, 1624]. Appointed to sequestration of Dagenham before April, 1645. Mrs. Trew had great difficulty in getting her "fifths"; Coleman was severely warned both by the C.P.M. and by the local Committee at Romford. To Langenhoe, void by cession, Jan. 21, 1646-7 (Lords' Journals, VIII., 682). He is returned there in 1650 as "scandalous"; no details given. To Little Laver March 3, 1653-4, patrons, Commissioners of the Great Seal, by lapse (Add. MS. 36792). But a new appointment was made June 14, 1654, and nothing more seems known of Coleman—except that in 1668 he with Billio, Havers and others held a public dispute with a Quaker—until in 1672 Henry Coleman of Great Easton takes out a licence, petitioning to this effect (Cal. State Papers):—

"Henry Coleman, M.A. of Cambridge, and an ancient preacher of the Gospel: I had ceased my ministry from sickness and some scruples of conscience. I accord with ministers episcopalian, presbyterian and independent, as far as they accord with Scripture; I have not preached since the nonconforming ministers were laid aside, but having read the King's Declaration I crave license to preach in my house at Thaxted without meddling in any State affairs."

Dauids 413.

LOWRY, THOMAS.

A Scotchman, put into Great Braxted, sequestered from Thomas Meighen. On Meighen's death (1643?) the patron appointed Richard Milward and "turned off the Scot" (MS. J. Walker, C. II., 101). Lowry probably remained in the district, as he was well known at Maldon; but went to Market Harborough, Leicestershire, March 24, 1646-7. In June, 1649, £80 was ordered to be spent on a lecture at Maldon, and Lowry was named (Bodley 326, 113-4), but on Nov. 23, 1650, it is stated that Lowry, being minister of Market Harborough, has not accepted; so Thomas Horrocks is to have the post (327, 102). But there is a mysterious entry Aug. 8, 1651 (328, 161), stating that Lowry was appointed in 1649 at £40 and ordering £20 to be paid to him for the half year. He must have returned soon to Harborough, where he was in 1659. In 1661 he was at Coggeshall; sons of Thomas Lowry, vicar, were baptized there May, 1661, and Sept., 1662. This adds to the mystery about Coggeshall in 1661 (see notice of Ranew and Sams).

Lowry took out a licence to preach at Coggeshall in 1672; was buried there April 2, 1681.

Calamy Acc. 436; Palmer 387; Dauids 552.

TAYLOR, EDMUND, M.A.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1647, M.A. 1651. Appointed to Littleton, Middlesex, Nov. 10, 1655, with certificates from Lavender of High Ongar, Smith of Sandon, Reeve of Springfield, Stileman of South Hanningfield, Walker of Fyfield, and others (Lambeth 996,338). He clearly came from Chelmsford district, but I do not know what parish. He was married April 8, 1656, to Ann Raynes of Springfield, by Mr. Mildmay, J.P. of Little Bad-dow, intention of matrimony having been published in Springfield Church, March 2, 9, 16. Ejected from Littleton 1662 ; took out license 1672 to preach in his house at Witham.

See Calamy Ac. 314. He "lived and died at Witham in this county, preached in divers places, and was imprisoned in Tilbury Fort in Monmouth's time."

See also Palmer 229, and Venn, *Alumni*.

WILSON, JOHN, M.A.

Of Catherine Hall, Cambridge ; probably B.A. 1634-5, M.A. 1638. In the sequestration of Little Hallingbury by 1645 ; on Classis ; signed Testimony. Fysh the sequestered minister, gave much trouble in 1647, taking possession of the house and dismantling it. Wilson was still here in 1655-6, but was admitted to Kimpton, Herts, April 16, 1657, presented by the Protector under the Great Seal (Lambeth 998,11). His certificates include Warren of Hatfield, Glascock of Little Canfield, Lukin of High Laver ; Thomas Waterhouse succeeded him at Hallingbury. Ejected from Kimpton, in 1660. Licensed in 1672 to preach in the house of William Taylor, Little Hallingbury. Buried there March 21, 1689-90.

Calamy Acc. 360, Cont. 523 ; Palmer 308.

YATES, JOHN, M.A.

Probably of Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; B.A. 1626-7, M.A. 1630. But there are others of the name.

(1) B.A. 1607-8, M.A. 1611.

(2) B.A. 1635-6, M.A. 1639.

He was at West Ham by September 1650 (Inquisition) and still there in July 1655, when he gave a certificate. One of the name was appointed at Mablethorpe, Lincolnshire, Nov., 1655 ; the West Ham man was undoubtedly appointed to Cheshunt (a sequestration) April 9, 1656, presented by the Earl of Salisbury (Lambeth

996A, 7; also 995, 573, a composition between him and his successor, Thomas Walton, March 1658-9). Ejected 1660; he took out license to preach in his house at Theobalds, 1672. Calamy, who however gives his name as *William* Yates, and is confused about his antecedents, says he died here in August, 1679, at near 100 years of age. (But his will, proved Sept. 1679, gives age as 74.) He is doubtful whether Yates was ejected here or at Barn Elms in Surrey.

Calamy Acc. 360 Cont. 530; Palmer 303.

More might also be said on various other nonconformists once in Essex; e.g., of Paul Amiraux, once of Wanstead, ejected from Mundesley, Norfolk; Robert Eaton, of Cheshire or Lancashire, once of Inworth; Abel Collier, once of Takeley; John Fuller, once of Stebbing, later at St. Martin, Ironmonger Lane (will proved April 1660); John Lucas, once of Ugley, from Stalham, Norfolk; Thomas Lawson, once of East Donyland, from Denton, Norfolk or Market Weston, Suffolk; Samuel Malbone, once of Henham, from Bungay; Thomas Parsons, once of Chingford, from St. Michael, Wood Street (ordained by Fourth Classis, May 24, 1654); Elias Pledger, once of Ongar, from St. Antholin's; Samuel Stileman, once of West Hanningfield, from Farnham, Surrey; William Voyle, once of Radwinter, from Hereford; Peter Witham, once curate of Barking, from St. John the Baptist, London.

APPENDIX.

- A. MERCURIUS RUSTICUS.
- B. ICONOCLASM.
- C. THE ENGAGEMENT.
- D. KENNET'S REGISTER.
- E. RESTORATION ORDINATIONS.
- F. TROUBLES AT COLCHESTER, 1637.
- G. RALPH JOSSELIN, ADDENDA.
- H. COMMUNION PLATE.
- I. THE PROTESTATION: ADDENDA.

(A)

The sufferings of the following Essex clergy are given at length by *Mercurius Rusticus*. These accounts are of course one-sided, but they are contemporary, and probably in some cases come direct from the victims themselves.

Thomas Newcomen, R. of Holy Trinity, Colchester ; seized with Sir

John Lucas		I-6
Erasmus Laud, R. of Little Tey		12

Gabriel Honifold of Colchester	..	..	..	..	..	12f.
Thomas Stevens of South Hanningfield	..	..	..	..	..	15
Edward Symmons of Rayne	..	..	..	..	..	16—21
John Michaelson of Chelmsford	..	..	..	..	..	21—27
John Cornelius of Peldon	..	..	..	..	..	28—30
Thomas Wiberrow of Pebmarsh	..	..	..	..	..	36—7
						121—4

Walker makes great use of these accounts, but for some purposes it is well to refer to his source.

(B)

I have found very few notices in Essex of destruction of "*superstitious images*" or other objects. This was done partly by churchwardens under order from Parliament; partly by commissioners sent round, such as Will Dowsing; generally by soldiers or the populace. The new screen at Radwinter was destroyed by soldiers instigated by some of the inhabitants in 1640. For the destruction done at Chelmsford see the account of John Michaelson (p. 175, 178). At Earls Colne Josselin notes that at Michaelmas 1641 by order of the House of Commons they took down all images and pictures and such like glasses. At Nevendon, David Foulis, among other expenditure on the church, records that in 1660 he repaired the Chancel, paving the floor, mending the walls, whitening inside and rough cast outside, and glazing "the windows which were broke by the visitors of the presbyterian Long Parliament." At Latton, Lady Altham of Mark Hall writes in March, 1644, that the Cross on the steeple is taken down and "ye sanct belly (sanctus belfry?) also taken away." (*Essex Review*, XVII, 85.)

(C)

We hear very little of the "*Engagement*" imposed on all officials and clergy in 1649. It was a pledge to be faithful to the newly established form of constitution.

It was much pressed at the Universities; in particular a number of Presbyterian Heads of Houses were ejected for refusing it. But in the case of parochial clergy we hear, with a few exceptions, only of livings being refused, or augmentations stopped for such refusal, not of actual ejection.

Josselin notes that he took the Engagement at Chelmsford Dec., 19 1649, first minister and the thirteenth man to do so in the county. He gives his interpretation: "My faithfulness is not to

create any trouble, but to seek the good of the commonwealth." But he greatly deplored the way it was pressed next year at Cambridge.

A MS. in the Bodleian, MS. J. Walker, C. 6, f. 39, gives a long list of ministers taking the Engagement ; among these are a number of Essex ministers.

Samuel Collins of Braintree persistently refused to take it and consequently lost his augmentation of £40 (Feb.-March, 1651-2), which was given to William Pierce of Romford (MS. Bodley 328, 164-5).

There were difficulties about Scotch ministers in Essex at the time. It was noted at the Inquisition of 1650 that Sandelands of Mountnessing had "engaged." On Aug. 21, 1650, Rhett, of South Ockendon was ordered to stay in England, take the Engagement and give security for good behaviour. So with Patrick Weems, minister of Pattiswick. On May 29, next year, Rhett was ordered to give security by a bond for £500, with two securities of £250 each. This may have been in connection with Love's Plot.

(D)

Kennet's *Register*, covering the years 1660-1662, contains some notices of Essex clergy. (He married Dorcas, widow of Clopton Havers, M.D., daughter of Dr. Thomas Fuller of Willingale Doe).

p. 353. Edward Rainbow, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, was appointed Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, by the Earl of Suffolk, but ejected in 1650 [for failure to take the Engagement ; in 1648 he was appointed V. of Great Easton, which he had likewise vacated by Sept. 1650]. He was presented by the Earl of Suffolk to the small living of Little Chesterford, 1652 ; and by the Earl of Warwick to a benefice in Northampton, 1659 ; "in both places composing all the prayers for the church out of the Liturgy, and repeating the Offices of Christening and Burial by heart, which the ignorant people not understanding liked well."

pp. 305, 360. Dr. Gauden, now Bishop of Exeter, ordained 44 presbyters and deacons on Sunday, Jan. 13, 1660-1. His sermon was published.

p. 388. March 2, 1660-1. Thomas Wolley, S.T.P., was admitted to the Rectory of Toppesfield, in the King's gift by lapse. In 1665 he was promoted to the See of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh

in Ireland; consecrated April 16. He lived in great veneration for his admirable way of preaching and exemplary life and conduct.

p. 460. Notice of a sermon by Dr. Anthony Walker of Fyfield, declaring drinking of healths no test of loyalty.

p. 591. Edward Young, Archdeacon of Exeter to be Dean; "a worthy person and intimate friend of Bp. Brownrigg." [He had lost his preferment in the Troubles, but kept the living of Heydon, till he took that of Anstey, Herts, in 1651-2.]

p. 826. Henry Havers ejected from Stambourne (previously of Fyfield). "I know him to be a very moderate and quiet man, who kept possession of his own house and land in that parish, and had an outhouse fitted for a meeting, which was the better filled because the parish church was too much neglected."

(E)

The following very incomplete notices of Restoration episcopal ordinations, taken from the record of the Visitations of 1664, will serve to show (1) how many men previously engaged in ministerial work in Essex or elsewhere took the opportunity at the Restoration of supplementing their former Orders, sometimes at once, sometimes not till the Act of Uniformity was coming into force; (2) how men kept their livings for a long time without being episcopally ordained. This would also apply to the bulk of the younger men ejected in 1662.

(a) Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway (Candida Casa) afterwards of Orkney, the one surviving Scottish Bishop, ordained very freely in 1660-1662, it is said without requiring any subscription. The following list of men ordained by him includes some whose previous work had lain in other counties, also apparently a few young men starting their ministry; I have added notes only in cases of former ministry in Essex. The places named are those where the man was at the Visitation of 1664, not necessarily at his ordination.

BULPHAN.	William Hawkesby; at North Shoebury in 1650. Instituted to Bulphan, 3 April, 1661.
PITSEA.	Joshua Long. To Kelvedon, 7 April, 1659; at Retenden (probably curate) in 1662; to Pitsea, 22 July, 1664.
HAWKWELL.	Daniel Joyner.
LEIGH.	John Flower, 28 March, 1661.
SOUTH SHOEbury.	Samuel Keeble. At Ashingdon, 1649-1654. Admitted to South Shoebury, Dec. 1654. There till 1676.

COLCHESTER.	St. Mary & Holy Trinity. John Smith, 24 Jan., 1660-1.
ALRESFORD AND ELMSTEAD.	} Thomas Martin, 25 May, 1661. At Chipping Ongar, 1655-7; to sequestration of Laver Breton, May, 1657; ejected 1660. To Alresford, 25 May, 1661, also Elmstead, 29 Nov., 1662.
RAMSEY.	
COGGESHALL.	Abraham Everet. 4 January, 1661-2.
BIRDBROOK.	Thomas Jessop. 8 June, 1661.
	Thomas Witham. 1 June, 1661.
	White Notley, 1653-7; Chingford, 1657-1660; Birdbrook, 7 June, 1661.
MARKSHALL.	Robert Constable. 8 Jan., 1661-2.
SALCOT VIRLEY.	John Negus. 24 Jan., 1661-2. At Barling in 1650; to Woodham Ferrers by 1654; ejected from sequest- ration, 1660, but apparently remained as curate. To Salcot, August, 1663.
WORMINGFORD.	Roger Kelsall. 22 March, 1660-1.
WIVENHOE.	Marcus Powers.
HALSTEAD (curate).	Thomas West. 5 March, 1660-1.
HENNY PARVA.	John Cooper. 5 Jan., 1661-2.
OVINGTON.	John Thomas. 22 Jan., 1661-2.
	Admitted to Ovington, 2 May, 1655; held till 1684.
BARNSTON.	John Smith. 13 Dec., 1660.
ELMDON.	Samuel Fuller. 24 July, 1661.
HEYDON.	Stephen Chappell. 29 April, 1662.
	Appointed there 20 Dec., 1652. Died 1676.
SAFFRON WALDEN.	John Fletcher. 27 June, 1661.
GREAT BARDFIELD.	Hugh Pollet. 1 Feb., 1661-2.
HENHAM.	John Rouse. 8 Jan., 1661-2.
TAKELEY.	John English. 20 Aug., 1661.

Twelve others ordained by this bishop were found in other parts of the diocese of London. Two call for mention here:

PADDINGTON.	David Foulis. 18 Sept., 1660.
	He was at Nevendon, Essex, from 1654 to 1662, when he was presented by the Bishop of London to Paddington, "two miles from the City of Westminster."
ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY.	Lecturer. John Tillotson. 18 May, 1661.
	The future Archbishop.

There were also fourteen men ordained by this bishop present at the *Norwich* Visitation of 1662.

(b) The ordinations by Thomas Fulwar or Fuller, Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe, begin in 1647 and continue throughout the Interregnum. There are also some by him in 1660, before he returned to Ireland as Archbishop of Cashel.

STANFORD RIVERS.	(curate) Thomas Edwards. 15 June, 1660.
DUNTON.	Christopher Chalfont. Date not given; possibly before Restoration. Had been there from Feb., 1657-8.
MUCKING.	John Ellis.

BRADWELL BY COGGESHALL.	}	Thomas Reeve. 8 August, 1660.
TEY MAGNA.		Zechariah Rogers. 15 May, 1660.
WEST BERGHOLT.		Nathaniel Seaman. 10 May, 1660. Admitted there Dec., 1658. Previously master of Colchester School.
BRAINTREE.		Robert Carr. 21 June, 1660.
FELSTED.		John Idle. 22 June, 1660.
GREAT YELDHAM.		John Brooke. 8 August, 1660. Admitted there 2 Feb., 1658-9. Held it till death, 1716.
LEADEN RODING.		John Jackson. 14 July, 1660. Admitted there 15 June, 1654; but re-instituted 30 July, 1660.
WIMBISH.		Edmund Heywood. 11 July, 1660. Admitted there, 13 Nov., 1657.

Seventeen men ordained by Fulwar in 1660 are found in other parts of the Diocese of London, besides a number ordained in earlier years. There were about thirteen ordained by him in 1660 found in the diocese of Norwich in 1662, besides a much larger number of earlier cases.

(c) Bishop Sheldon of London held a special ordination on 21 August, 1662, for men conforming at the last moment. There were now ordained :

John Beard. Admitted to Berden, Feb., 1655-6. Still there at Visitations of 1664 and 1669.

Francis Hill. In the sequestration of High Roding from Sept., 1646; ejected 1660, but may have remained as curate. Instituted there 6 Feb., 1663-4, on death of John Duke.

(Bishop Reynolds of Norwich also ordained some sixteen men from Suffolk alone, in July-August, 1662.)

(d) Some miscellaneous cases.

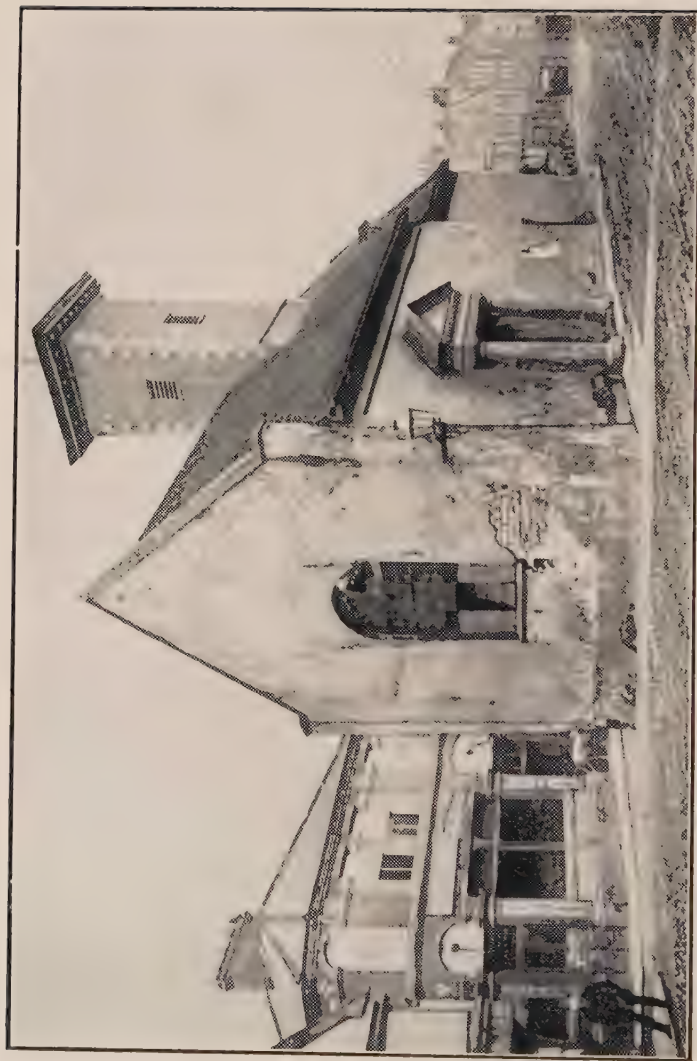
William Skingle. Ordained by Bp. King of Chichester, 29 May, 1662. Had been at Little Dunmow since 1649; held also Stebbing from 1662. Died 1712.

Nathan Lacy. Ordained by Bp. Sanderson of Lincoln, 18 Jan., 1661-2. Had been at Greensted by Ongar—either in a sequestration or as curate—from 1649. Instituted there 21 Feb., 1661-2. Till 1706.

Samuel Symonds. Ordained by Bp. Skinner of Oxford, 10 June, 1661. He had been at Ashen from 1654, probably to 1660. To Colne Engaine, 13 Nov., 1662.

Nathaniel Bugg. Ordained by the same Bishop, 22 Dec., 1661. He had held the sequestration of Great Horkesley, 1645-1655, when he went to Brockdish in Norfolk. In 1664 he was curate of Birch Magna.

Of those clearly holding *livings* for more than a few months without being in episcopal orders, the clearest cases are Thomas



ST. RUNWALD'S CHURCH, HIGH STREET, COLCHESTER.

Now demolished.

of Ovington, Chappell of Heydon, Beard of Berden, Skingle of Little Dunmow. Other instances might be given from Suffolk. But it held good also of the bulk of the younger men ejected in 1662.

It must be remembered that in the Archdeaconry of Essex and the Rural Deanery of Witham the dates of ordination are given only in a very few cases.

A few further notes on the Visitation of 1664 may be added here. In some cases letters of Orders had been lost in the War : Robert Pettit of Brightlingsea, Charles Forbench of Henny, Nehemiah Holmes of Matching. Their plea was accepted ; Holmes produced a certificate of institution by the Bishop of London in 1661.

William Hales of Great Hallingbury produced Letters of Deacon's Orders, but declared he had lost those of Priest's. He confessed he had not administered the Eucharist for two full years.

The same thing came up about Samuel Peck of Prittlewell. The answer to the question, when he last administered the Sacrament, was "not these two years." "How are Public Prayers read?" "Hist at, and he suffers it."

John Peachie of Little Canfield was ordered to read Public Prayers constantly and fully (integras).

(F)

A fuller account of the trouble at Colchester (p. 66) is given in the postscript to "A Quench-Coale," 1637 (The title answers Heylin's "Coale from the Altar"). It is here stated that Thomas "Nucoman," rector of St. Runwald's, had the Communion Table removed and railed in altarwise, and required all communicants to kneel at the rails, refusing to administer to any others, though present in the chancel and ready to receive in their usual manner. Moreover he required the churchwardens to present them to Dr. Aylett for not receiving, 'whereas they should have presented *him* for not giving them the Communion.' One Mr. "Burroes" of this parish being thrice denied the Sacrament for not coming up to this new rail, and yet presented for not receiving, brought an inditement against Newcomen at Colchester Sessions; but as this was ill drawn, and most of the grand jury were the rector's friends, they returned "Ignoramus." But the mere exhibition of this inditement troubled Newcomen and Aylett; and at the next Court

Burrows was excommunicated for non-appearance, though he had made his personal appearance, and remained until the Court rose, as he could prove by twenty witnesses: "Such strange justice and vexatious oppression now reigns in these spiteful, I should say spiritual, courts."

The next Lord's Day Newcomen published the excommunication in the church, Burrows being present, and sent the churchwardens to him, requiring him to depart. He told them that the excommunication had been forged by Newcomen, as none had been granted at the court, where he had been all the while; and because it did not come out in the King's name and under his seal and by an authority derived from him by letters patent (according to the Act 1 Ed. VI, c. 2 and 1 Eliz. c. 1 and 8 Eliz. c. 1.) it was void in law; "neither would nor could he in point of loyalty to His Majesty obey it." Newcomen then bade the churchwardens carry him out of the church; on their refusal he charged the constables to do so. But on these coming to Burrows he told them that he was not excommunicated, and that they had nothing to do in the church: it was not their part but the churchwardens' to remove him; so he bade them do no more than they could justify by law, else they should smart for it. Upon this they left him; but Newcomen put off his surplice, closed his book, and went out of the church, the people following him by degrees. Burrows sat still till about eleven o'clock, when the clerk came to shut the doors.

The next day there was a great stir about "this business." Newcomen held this was a disturbance against the Statute 1 Mary, c. 3, while Burrows said that Newcomen and Aylett were the disturbers for publishing and granting such an illegal excommunication, and giving over divine service without cause; and that if the excommunication had been legal, the law was not that he should go out, but he ought to have been carried out by the churchwardens, so he was no disturber. "Much ado there was about it." To clear the matter, Burrows went to Aylett and the registrar to know whether he was or was not excommunicated and for what cause. At first they denied that he was excommunicated, nor would they believe that Newcomen had published any against him; but when he proved this they told him that he was indeed excommunicated by the Court. He asked why: they answered, "For not appearing." He replied that he was present all the while in Court, and that they both knew to be true. "And is this," saith he, "your justice, to excommunicate men for not appearing, when

they are all the while in Court ? " Aylett replied, " O sir, you are an audacious fellow indeed ; you will indite your minister for innovation ; we will take you down in time, and teach you how to indite ministers. I will excommunicate you in all the parishes round about and throughout England, and see who dares absolve you, for inhibition I am sure you can have none." " Will you so, Master Doctor ? " said Burrows ; " I thought your power had not been so large as to reach over all England, nor your presumption and insolence so great as to excommunicate His Majesty's subjects thus against law for inditing those that break both His Majesty's laws and declarations. If you abuse me thus as you say, I will not only go to church notwithstanding your excommunication, but likewise bring you into the Star Chamber for abusing me in this manner." Aylett then proceeded to excommunicate Burrows in other parish churches, and threatened him with the High Commission, only for inditing Newcomen for " abusing " him as above and bringing in innovations. (A marginal note says, " This Doctor is a High Commissioner, and when any man opposeth his extortions or innovations, presently he hath a dormant warrant and pursuivant to arrest and vex the parties ; with which course he hath so vexed and abused the country and His Majesty's authority, that hanging is too good for him ; the like have other Commissioners done.")

Burrows, notwithstanding, persisted in his resolution. On Oct. 2, being the Lord's Day, he went to his own parish church without any absolution, whereupon Newcomen gave over the service and departed, and all the people after him. Then he went to another church where he had been excommunicated, and then to a third ; they all likewise left the church. On Monday, Oct. 3, being the Sessions Day for the town, he preferred a new inditement against Newcomen for his innovations ; the mayor and recorder pressed him to desist, but he refused. Then they wished him to put it off till next Sessions, because it was a new case ; he answered that the case was plain and that he must by the Statute indite him this Session or not at all. They then sought to get the jury not to find the inditement. " The jury, being stout honest men, notwithstanding found it '*Billa vera*,' this innovation of Newcomen being a notorious affront both against the Statute and His Majesty's late declarations. They were desired to change their verdict, but refused. So, the Sessions were adjourned for ten days ; Newcomen posted to the archbishop to acquaint him with these proceedings and to crave direction what should be done. He returned bringing

with him a pursuivant and process to arrest Burrows, entered his house, and "first by policy, after that by power," sought to apprehend him, and set the whole town in an uproar. Then he got the Sessions adjourned nine weeks longer, that he might escape the punishment of the Statute and renew the inditement into the King's Bench for delay. "Thus are the King's good subjects abused by a pack of lewd companions, and the High Commission made the instrument not only of oppressing His Majesty's best subjects, but of patronizing knaves and offenders in their open contempt against His Majesty's laws and declarations, the chief use it now serves for. Master Burrows threatens them all with the Star Chamber for a conspiracy, and denying him the King's Justice. And so the matter yet hangs in suspense."

"This case is like to be a precedent for all England to follow. And if all people where Communion Tables are turned into Altars or railed in altarwise, or they enforced in a new manner to come up to the rail to receive, will prefer the like inditement against their ministers (yea, and Bishops too, the chief agents in these novelties) our Romish innovators will shrink in their horns, and we shall be no more troubled with Altars, railing in Lord's Tables, or ascending to them to receive. For their encouragement in this good work a copy of the inditement is subjoined." (The offence is one against Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, and the penalties claimed are those of that Act.)

(G) Ralph Josselin (additional).

He was in great repute as a preacher; besides preaching before the Lord Mayor and the Assize Sermon he records preaching in many places of Essex (and Suffolk). He could preach as long as any; on Nov. 25, 1646 (a Public Fast) he notes, "It was wet in the morning, so we went not to church until eleven, and I continued preaching until sun was set."

In 1647 and the earlier part of 1648 he records several meetings of ministers discussing church government, but no general agreement. He has several notices about difficulties experienced or expected about joining in the Lord's Supper.

In the unpublished part of the Diary he has an important note on the recognition or acceptance of John Sams as minister of Coggeshall, in succession to John Owen, March 18, 1651-2. "At Coxall Mr. Owen preached; Mr. Sams set apart that day with fasting

and prayer to be a teaching elder to the church at Coxall. He made a confession of faith ; there was no open assent of the church nor any acceptance of it with any words nor promise to do anything. The Messengers, viz., Pastors of these churches, gave their approbation of the act and were witnesses of the Church's act. One gave an exhortation and prayed for a blessing." (Sams had been approved by the Assembly in February.)

In the unpublished part he records many of the deaths of his clerical neighbours, and enables us to date them. Eg., May 18, 1657, " Heard of Mr. Whiting's death, minister of Lexden, by putting his finger into a man's mouth whose throat was ill with a " squinsey " and *non compos mentis*, he bit it vehemently, on which it gangrened and killed him about eight days after."

He has another case of suspected witchcraft: " Mr. Clarke, the minister of Gaines Colne, told us that he saw one An Crow, counted a witch, take something out of a pot and lay by a grave. He considered what was to do ; when he drew near he espied some baked pears and a little thing in shape like a rat, only reddish and without a tail, run from them and vanisht away that he could not tell what became of it. The partie said she laid them there to cool. She was under the window where we exercised. I pressed her what I could ; she protests her innocency."

I owe the extracts from the unpublished part to the kindness of Colonel Carwardine Probert, of Bures, the present owner of the MS. There is very much of local interest not published, as well as much that throws light on Josselin's character.

(H) Communion Plate.

There are still a few examples remaining of Communion Plate made during the Long Parliament and Commonwealth. Some of this however was not given to the church till later. The examples and dating are from " The Church Plate of the County of Essex," 1926.

GREAT BRAXTED.	Almsdish of 1646.
BULPHAN.	Cup of 1650.
MOUNT BURES.	Cup and Paten of 1641.
COLCHESTER, ALL SAINTS.	Cup of 1658.
LITTLE EASTON.	Flagon of 1641.
SOUTH FAMBRIDGE.	Cup of 1641.
FELSTED.	Cup and Paten of 1641, gift of Lord Warwick.

SIBLE HEDINGHAM.	Porringer of 1658. "A very beautiful and valuable example of secular origin, but bequeathed to the church." "A most interesting piece, and quite one of the treasures of the Diocese."
HUTTON.	Paten of 1648 or 1652.
LAINDON.	Cup of 1656.
NETTESWELL.	Cup and Paten of 1641; almsdish of 1656.
NORTH OCKENDON.	Cup of 1646.
RAINHAM.	Cup of 1652.
RETENDON.	Paten of 1641.
ROMFORD.	Flagons of 1640; paten of 1654.
SPRINGFIELD.	Cup and Cover of 1658; inscription, "For the parish of Springfield in Essex, 1658."
THEYDON GARNON.	Two Flagons of 1650.
WOODHAM WALTER.	Cup of 1646.

The Cup and Cover and two Patens at Manningtree (1633) were the gift of William Laud, Bishop of London, and bear the arms of the See impaling his own. I am inclined to connect this with Dr. Aylett's report, June, 1632, that this Chapel was not consecrated, but it was hoped that the Bishop of Norwich would consecrate it on his way to or from London. Laud's gift may be on the occasion of such consecration.

(I)

The Protestation of 1641 (p. 94) occurs also in the parish registers of (1) Little Baddow, where it was taken June 27, 1641; seventy signatures. (2) Hadleigh, taken July 4. A note is added of the sense in which it was taken to maintain the true Protestant *doctrine* expressed in the Church; it is not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worship, discipline or government, or of any rite or ceremony. (3) Little Oakley; no text, but thirty-four original signatures, of whom thirty make their mark in one form or another. The Hadleigh register has also the Vow and Covenant, July 23, 1643, and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1644, with forty-seven signatures.

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ERRATA.

- Page 23, line 32. *For Richard read Robert.*
 Page 90, line 29. *For Thomas read Richard.*
 Page 126, line 17. *Insert Alsop before Pulley.*
 Page 128, line 3. *Insert Kidby after Childerley.*
 Page 149, line 22. *Insert "But see index for George Crackenthorpe
 and Nicholas Gill."*
 Page 338, line 37. *Insert "Robert Sparke of Panfield was ejected
 in 1656."*

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